

# THE STORY OF ZIONISM



J. MITCHELL ROSENBERG

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Zionism

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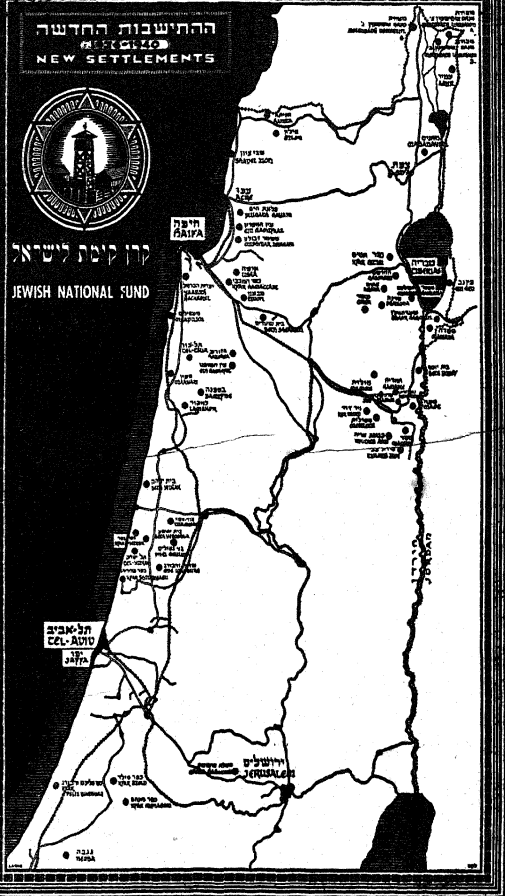
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# THE STORY OF ZIONISM

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW

*By*

J. MITCHELL ROSENBERG, B.A., LL.B., M.A.

*Preface by*

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

*New York*

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DEDICATED TO MY DEAR FATHER,  
RABBI ISRAEL ROSENBERG,  
EMINENT TALMUDIC SCHOLAR AND  
DISTINGUISHED RABBINIC LEADER,  
AND MY DEAR MOTHER,  
S A R A H     R O S E N B E R G ,  
DEVOTED DAUGHTER OF ISRAEL.

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*"Zion shall be redeemed with justice,  
And they that return of her with righteousness—"*

—ISAIAH, I, 27.

•

*"They (the Jews) have built up a civilization and a culture here of which the Arabs are frankly not capable, and will not be capable in five hundred years. There lies the crux of the problem."*

—ERNEST MAIN

(Christian English author in "Palestine at the Crossroads," George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1937, p. 31.

•

*" . . . the sooner a Europeanized, progressive Palestinian state comes into existence the better; a state with which on the conclusion of the Mandate Britain would be glad to enter into treaty on terms of mutual independence and sovereignty. Britain's honor demands some such solution."*

—Main, *supra*, p. 65.

•

*"It (Zionist colonization) is work typical of the finest of British colonisers in the history of our Empire."*

—HERBERT MORRISON

*"There is no experiment in human uplift, now to be seen on the face of the earth that can compare to the work of the Zionists in Palestine. If I were a Jew, I would deem it the highest honor life can hold to have a part in a work so noble."*

—REV. NORMAN McLEAN

Chaplain to King George VI, quoted from Lowdermilk, "Palestine, Land of Promise," Harper's, 1944, pp. 14-15.



*"If we do not want the fellah to bestir himself and gain those inalienable rights of which he knows nothing, then let us allow these Jewish settlements in Palestine to be blotted out of the Near East. But if we are interested in the regeneration of man, let all the righteous forces on earth support these settlements in Palestine as a wholesome example for the backward Near East and, indeed, for all who set to work out a permanent adjustment of people to their lands."*

—LOWDERMILK

Supra, p. 149



*"Now it is clear to me. I was here yesterday and a thousand years ago. I still recognize my footprints in the sand, and the wind following the moon."*

—From a latest Chalutz song

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## PREFACE

A movement as broad, as stirring, as significant not only for the Jewish people but for the world as Zionism has, naturally enough, not lacked historians. Nahum Sokolow laid the foundations for the history of Zionism in his two weighty volumes; Adolf Boehm of Vienna produced in the third decade of the century his still unrivalled analysis of the ideas which have suffused the movement and the cause; finally, a year ago, Maurice Samuel published his eloquent, thorough and yet inspired, "Harvest in the Desert."

These three works are and will remain indispensable to the student, the thinker, the leader. But what of those hundreds of thousands of simpler and unlearned people who in this strange and apocalyptic age are flocking, wherever Jews live, to that banner of Zion which is their hope and their people's hope and their symbol of honor and redemption? Do they not need an historic and present account of the Zionist movement and cause and of Zionist arguments and accomplishments that shall be brief yet not shallow, easy to read yet accurate, arranged in such a manner that topical reference will be simple and self-instruction pleasant yet not unprofitable? There is, quite evidently, a need for such a volume and I think that Mr. Rosenberg has supplied that need.

I hasten to add that Mr. Rosenberg's volume supplies that need in a very honorable fashion. It is

clear and simple and so arranged that even those unaccustomed to continuous literary attention may master its contents. But it makes no unworthy concessions in respect of either fact or theory. It covers the case, the whole case; it omits no significant fact or factor. It includes the religious as well as the secularist trends in Zionist thinking and feeling; it is equally just to the immemorial mystic tradition and to the naked political necessities; it delineates all the great figures of the movement and does justice to all the social and economic forces involved; it has also the merit of being, as the saying now goes, up to the minute. It presents its matter fully and attractively and thoroughly. A new member of any branch of the Zionist movement or any inquirer into the character of that cause and movement, be he Jew or Gentile, will be able to take up Mr. Rosenberg's book and equip himself, if his antecedent will is a good and friendly will, with all the needed ideas and with all the needed facts. I think that is a great deal to be able to say of a brief history of a very great subject and because it may be honestly said of Mr. Rosenberg's book I am glad to preface it with these words in the hope that many thousands who stand in need of such a book will avail themselves of the opportunity for instruction and enlightenment which it offers them.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

## FOREWORD

In a great, evolving movement of wide social significance like Zionism, adherents are frequently won to swell its ranks with a view to strengthening its political prestige. These adherents can become zealous advocates and integral protagonists of the movement if they subsequently study its ideology and history and are fired by its vision.

Driven along by the momentum of the Zionist membership drive, many members have been recruited into the Zionist ranks who are not at home in Zionist thought and history.

It is in the modest hope that this compact compendium, prepared especially for Zionist youth groups on an adult level, may contribute its mite to an appreciation of the Zionist background, that it is issued. It is chronologically presented and brought down to date.

When the book was already in press, I decided to append notes at the end of the volume for the purpose either of clarifying or amplifying certain portions of the text. In a few junctures, the notes can be used as an organic addition to the text. The notes, with one or two exceptions, are not of the nature of references to sources but are informational in character. The reader is accordingly urged to read the notes in conjunction with the text. The reader will note that the book, by reason of its being in press, does not make reference to the notes, but the notes refer to the relevant pages in the text.

I call particular attention to my innovation of the term "BILUISTS," in contrast to the usual appellations "BILUS" and "BILUIM." My reason is explained in my notes to page 234.

On page 230 an ERRATA rectifies a few mistakes noted when the book was in press.

I wish to express my indebtedness to the authors whose volumes are listed in my SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY and which I consulted in the preparation of this book as well as to Dr. Ludwig Lewisohn, dean of American critics and eminent Zionist thinker and author, for several suggestions.

It is fitting to remark here, in passing, upon the question frequently asked concerning Palestine in the post-war scene. I could do no better than quote from Walter Clay Lowdermilk's "Land of Promise" (Harper's, 1944), p. 167:

"In my opinion, the prospects for Arab-Jewish understanding after the war depend less on the two peoples themselves than on the general climate of post-war international relations. Only if the victorious United Nations co-operate sincerely in the building of a free and humane post-war world will it be possible to settle national conflicts justly. The Arab-Jewish situation is no exception to this rule."

It is hoped that this volume will stimulate more detailed study of this revolutionary movement in Jewish life.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

June, 1945

## THE STORY OF ZIONISM



## PRELUDE

The story of Zionism has its roots in hoary antiquity. Patriarch Abraham was the Zionist prototype. At the dawn of human history, impelled by the voice of divine commandment, Abraham forsook his idol-ridden patrimony in Ur of the Chaldees and founded a new civilization in Canaan, later to be known as Palestine. Tradition ascribes to Abraham the origin of monotheism. In Palestine, his descendants<sup>1</sup> created a civilization whose splendence and effulgence have persisted to this very day. They gave to the world the greatest contribution, in my opinion, of any people in history:

---

<sup>1</sup> The Jews are a Semitic people, as are the Arabs. The name "Hebrew" is, according to some authority, derived from Eber. Eber, according to the Bible, is a descendant of Shem, one of the three sons of Noah. Abraham is a descendant of Eber. Semites are alleged to be descendants of Shem. But peoples of different stock too may have acquired a Semitic tongue and come to be called Semitic solely by reason thereof.

The Jews are a historical cultural product which by reason of common associations and remembrances—common religious traditions, common history, common ancestral land and tongue have evolved into the Jewish nationality. The Jewish people, since its possession of ancient Palestine, has maintained its existence uninterrupted to this very day. Of course, there have been converts to Judaism throughout the ages and in earlier days, comminglings among races was the common thing, so that there are no pure races.

Prophetism, the message of the God-intoxicated Prophets.<sup>2</sup> The Prophets stormed against injustice and denounced iniquity. They were uncompromising. They railed against king and priest who temporized with the prophets' uncompromising ideals.

For more than a thousand years our ancestors, ruled successively by judges and by kings, lived in Palestine and engaged in agriculture and in commerce. Although far outnumbered by the Greek armies under Antiochus Epiphanes, the stalwart and doughty Maccabees, led by Mattathias Maccabeus and his five sons, of whom the most famous was Judas Maccabeus — whose name has become symbolic for superhuman valor — defeated the Greeks in the second century B.C.E. and thus represented a victory of Hebraism over Hellenism. In the year 70 C.E. the cruel, merciless hand of fate, after an extraordinarily valiant military struggle of more than seven years against mighty imperial Rome, drove our ancestors from Palestine into exile and started their dispersal over the face of the globe. And there, with countless wanderings and migrations, they remain to this day. An

---

<sup>2</sup> Christianity with its 650,000,000 adherents and Mohammedanism with its 220,000,000 adherents are daughter religions of Judaism. And in the words of the historian Lecky, Judaism was "the mortar that cemented the foundations of the American Republic." Judaism had 17,000,000 adherents before Hitler's rise to power. Judaism seldom sought in the past two thousand years to proselytize other peoples and millions of Jews have been decimated and "crucified" through the ages at the hands of cruel persecutors.



attempt by Bar Kochba to wrest Palestine from Rome in 132 C.E., although successful in its early stages, was ruthlessly stamped out by the Emperor Hadrian.

The destruction of the Jew's physical homeland, contrary to the experiences of other peoples, did not result in the destruction of his spiritual homeland. On the contrary, the great Talmudic sage and teacher and advocate of peace with Rome, Yochanon ben Zakkai, a pupil of Hillel, when Jerusalem was being sacked and the Temple defiled, escaped through the gates of Jerusalem in a coffin, to avoid detection and seizure by the Hebrew Zealots who refused peace on any terms with the enemy, and there he secured permission from General Vespasian—the future Emperor—to establish a Talmudical academy at Jamnia, better known as Jabneh. Little did the Roman conqueror then realize that this superficially trivial request would guarantee the existence of the Jew long after the downfall of Imperial Rome.

But we never relinquished our claim to Palestine. "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea we wept, when we remembered Zion." (Psalm 137).<sup>3</sup> For two thousand years we prayed thrice

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<sup>3</sup> This Psalm refers to the Babylonian Captivity under Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. This exile lasted from 586 to 538 B.C.E. In the latter year Cyrus, King of Persia, defeated Babylon and restored Palestine to the Jew.

daily: "And our eyes shall behold when thou returnest to Zion in mercy." Annually, at the Passover Seder and at the climax of the Yom Kippur services, we implored God: "Next year in Jerusalem." The daily life of the Jew and all his liturgy were saturated with thousands of references to and reminders of Zion and the Temple at Jerusalem. And at all times, even in the darkest periods of our martyred history, a "Shearith Israel"—remnants of Israel—remained and lived in Palestine as symbolic proof of our unrelinquished stake in the land.

"Dr. Wm. E. Blackstone, quoting the foremost authorities on international law, pointed out in 1891 that since the Jews never gave up their title to Palestine, the general 'law of dereliction' could not hold in their case: "for they never abandoned the land. They made no treaty, they did not even surrender. They simply succumbed, after the most desperate conflict, to the overwhelming power of the Romans . . . and were captured or enslaved . . . Since then, having no sovereign nor political head through whom they could speak, they have disputed the possession of the land, by continued protest through their literature and their public and private worship . . ."<sup>4</sup>

In the eleventh century, there arose during the Golden Spanish Era a Zion-intoxicated poet-philos-

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<sup>4</sup> William B. Ziff, "The Rape of Palestine," Longman's, Green & Co., 1938, p. 23.

opher-physician, who embodied in his poetry the undying yearning of the Jew for Zion, more superbly, it would appear, than anyone who had either preceded him or followed him. Jehuda ha-levi, sweet singer of Zion, speaks of the Holy Land as one does of an ineffable love-object. "The life of souls is the air of thy land." To wail for thine affliction I am like the jackals; but when I dream of the return of thy captivity, I am a harp for thy songs." His "Ode of Zion" is one of the masterpieces of world poetry. (See "Anthology of World's Best Poems," ed. by Mark Van Doren—Halcyon House.) He translated his Zionism into reality for himself by journeying to Palestine and forsaking his beloved household in Spain. Legend has it that while kissing the dust of Palestine's soil he was trampled under foot by a passing Arab horseman.

But until the nineteenth century Zionism was but a Messianic dream. It was not until the Era of Emancipation, following the French Revolution, that serious thought crystallized to transform the messianic dream of a restoration of Zion to the Jew by God, into a pragmatic, humanly directed movement of return.

## ZIONISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

The nineteenth century is an era of national resurgence in the world's history. It is the era of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, Bismark and Bolivar. It marks the unification and consolidation of Italy and Germany and the liberation of South America. It also denotes the gradual implementation of democratic rule in France and England. It follows closely on the heels of the French and the American Revolutions.

Into this world of nationalistic ambitions and of democratic forces, there unfolds for the first time in two thousand years the miracle of a National Jewish Renaissance. People begin to talk and write seriously of the re-establishment in Palestine of a Jewish State. Both Jews and Gentiles react with concrete, constructive plans and projects to manifestations of anti-Semitism in Europe. The groundwork is thus laid for the rise of the political Zionist movement, the aim of which is the re-creation of a Jewish state and a Hebraic civilization in Eretz Israel (The Land of Israel).

In mediaeval Europe, in the Dark Ages, the Jew had been an abject, pilloried creature, consigned to dwell in a ghetto, to wear the yellow

badge and to suffer the persecutions of a hostile environment. Millions of Jews were massacred throughout the Mediaeval Ages in the name of Christ misguidedly—the ghastliest crimes which besmirch the escutcheon of Christianity. Who but the Jew would then have dreamt that this creature, like the bird of fable of old—the phoenix—which rose from its ashes every five hundred years, would rise from his ashes to re-create his ancient civilization in a modern setting? Many ancient civilizations have perished. The power of dreams is oft stronger than reality. This phenomenon of Israel Reborn is unique in the annals of history.

## SOME PRECURSORS OF POLITICAL ZIONISM

In the year 1825 an American Jew, Major Mordecai Manuel Noah, American consul at Tunis and journalist, eyewitness in the course of his travels to the sufferings of his co-religionists in Europe and Asia, proposed to establish a haven of refuge for the oppressed of Jewry on Grand Island, outside of Buffalo, New York. He purchased Grand Island for this purpose. This project was intended as preparatory to a settlement in Palestine. The laying of the cornerstone amidst much fanfare was the only success attained by this romantic figure.

Lord Byron (1788-1824) bewailed Israel's homelessness in his "Hebrew Melodies." He chanted:

"The wild dove hath her nest,  
The fox his cave,  
Mankind their country,  
Israel but the grave."

As early as 1839, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland appealed in a letter to the Protestant rulers of Europe to assist the children of Israel in renationalizing themselves on their ancestral soil. This was felt to be in fulfillment of God's word embodied in Holy Writ. In 1840

Lord Ashley, later Earl of Shaftesbury, wrote to Lord Palmerston, British Foreign Secretary, to the identical effect.

We shall now consider the first writers who represent the chrysalis of political Zionism before it burst into full bloom under its immortal prophet, Dr. Theodore Herzl.

The Zionist world is familiar with the pre-eminent pre-Herzlitel, Moses Hess and Dr. Leon Pinsker. Not all, however, are acquainted with the other men discussed in this chapter in relationship to their advocacy of re-establishing a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, motivated by one or more of the following reasons: theological, political, humanitarian.

Joseph Salvador, French Jewish historian, urged the convening of a European Congress to establish a legal reversion of Palestine to the Jewish people. It is said that he was responsible for the pro-Zionist sentiment expressed by the great Disraeli (1804-81), Jewish Prime Minister of Britain, and author of the novels "Alroy," "Tancred," and "Coningsby." In "Alroy," for example, we find this passage: "You ask me what I wish: my answer is, the Land of Promise. You ask me what I wish: my answer is the Temple, all we have forfeited, all we have yearned after, all for which we have fought, our beauteous country, our holy creed, our simple manners, our ancient customs."

In 1852 an Englishman, Hollingsworth, published a pamphlet in which he urged the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine as a safeguard for the overland route to India.

Alexander Dumas, *filis* (1824-95), the greatest of French psychological dramatists, and according to reports partly Jewish, wrote a play entitled "La Femme de Claude." We shall have the Jewish character, Daniel, speak for himself: "We have come to an epoch when each race has resolved to claim and to have as its own its soil, its home, its language, its temple. It is long enough since we Jews have been dispossessed of all that—we have been forced to insinuate ourselves into the interstices of nations and there we have taken up the interests of governments, of societies, of individuals. This is a great deal, yet it is not enough. People still believe that persecution has dispersed us; it has merely spread us over the world . . . We do not want to be a group any more, we want to be a people, a nation. The ideal name does not suffice us; the fixed territorial fatherland is again necessary for us, and I go seek it and obtain there our legalized birth certificate."

Henri Dunant (1828-1910), Christian Swiss founder of the International Red Cross, was also the founder of the International Palestine Society. Though not a writer, he sought in the 1860's and 1870's to arouse the Jews of Western Europe from



their lethargy to the need for practical work of colonization in Palestine. The Alliance Israélite in France,<sup>1</sup> the Anglo-Jewish Association in London and the Jews of Berlin turned a deaf ear to his pleas. The Jews of Western Europe were living secure—so at least they felt—in the legal emancipation they were then enjoying with their Christian neighbors.

The first fruits of the Emancipation following the French Revolution was a headlong rush of many Jews from the Ghettos into the free, intoxicating air of Western Europe and a resultant Assimilation. Some assimilated completely and thoroughly—whether by conversion or just short of conversion. Many retained only an attenuated and diluted Jewish religion, akin to Unitarianism, and called themselves—in Germany, e.g., “Germans of the Mosaic persuasion.” They severed all bonds with the Jewries of other countries and eliminated Zion from their prayers and thoughts.<sup>2</sup> Many of the Jews of Germany thought that they had found a new Zion in Germany. Some—a minority—of Germany’s Jews, still clung to orthodoxy and traditionalism and certain communities in particular—such as Frankfurt-am-Main—were citadels of a militant orthodoxy. A somewhat similar situation

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<sup>1</sup> Formed in 1860, following the Damascus Blood Libel of 1840 in which Jews were tortured and the Mortara Affair (see below, p. 16), to protect Jewish rights wherever infringed upon.

<sup>2</sup> In France Napoleon granted Jews civil rights in exchange for renunciation of Jewish nationalistic traditions.

prevailed in the other Western European countries. The Jews of Eastern Europe, however, were still groaning under the yoke of mediaeval tyranny and oppression.

But most inspired of all these Christian and Jewish pre-Herzlian writers and leaders, was the English novelist George Eliot (1819-90), who wrote the novel "Daniel Deronda" in 1876. Her words are remarkable for insight and foresight, for understanding and wisdom. We quote from her impassioned utterances:

"When it is rational to say, 'I know not my father or my mother; let my children be aliens unto me, that no prayer of mine may touch them' then will it be rational for the Jew to say, 'I will seek to know no difference between me and the Gentile; I will not cherish the prophetic consciousness of our nationality.' Let the Hebrew cease to be, and let all his memorials be antiquarian trifles, dead as the wall-paintings of a conjectured race. Yet let his child learn by rote the speech of the Greek, where he adjures his fellow-citizen by the bravery of those who fought foremost at Marathon; let him learn to say, 'That was noble in the Greek, that is the spirit of an immortal nation! But the Jew has no memories that bind him to action; let him laugh that his nation is degraded from a nation; let him hold the monuments of his law which carried within its frame the breath of social justice,

of charity, and of household sanctities; let him hold the energy of the prophets, the patient care of the masters, the fortitude of martyred generations, as mere stuff for a professorship . . .”

The following is the quintessence of George Eliot's Zionism:

“Revive the organic center . . . Looking forward to a land and a polity, our dispersed people in all the ends of the earth may share the dignity of a national life which has a voice among the peoples of the East and the West . . . Then our race shall have an organic center, a heart and a brain to watch and guide and execute; the outraged Jew shall have a defense in the court of nations, as the outraged Englishman or American. And the world will gain as Israel gains. For there will be a community in the van of the East which carries the culture and the sympathies of every great nation in its bosom, and there will be a land set for a halting place of enmities . . .”

One of the most remarkable of all pre-Herzli-ites, however, was Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer, orthodox rabbi of Thorn, Prussia. The mould of the glorious future conceived by orthodox Judaism consisted in the advent of the Messiah in God's good time. The reconstruction of the Homeland in Eretz Israel would come about concomitantly with the appearance of God's vicegerent, the Messiah, on earth. The exile and the dispersion, the harassments

and the persecutions were divine signs of God's displeasure with the breach and non-observance of His Torah by Israel whom He had designated "a nation of priests." Appeasement of God was possible only by a strict observance of and compliance with his laws. Man's reconstruction of the Holy Land would therefore fly in the face of God's will, would constitute a sacrilege and would hinder rather than help Israel's welfare.

Rabbi Kalischer's "Emunah Yesarah" (True Faith), published in 1860, was in a measure a revolutionary treatise and an attempted remoulding of orthodox Judaism with respect to Palestine. It was an "Ueberwerthung der Werthe." It was a straw in the wind of a *démarche* in Jewish life. It brought God down to earth and re-interpreted Messianism as the culmination of the divine will working itself out through the natural agency of man. And so it is not strange that in his pamphlet "Derishat Zion" (Call of Zion) (1862), Kalischer concretely proposes the founding of a Palestine colonization society.

In the ranks of the secular Hebrew writers, Perez Smolenskin, novelist and essayist, warmly espoused the emergent cause of Zion. In his book "Am Olam" (An Eternal People) he posits Zion as the "eternal ideal" of an eternal people.

The New World too echoed in this growing symphony for a New Zion. The Reverend William

E. Blackstone (1841-1935), a fundamentalist Protestant clergyman, memorialized President Benjamin Harrison on March 5, 1891 with a petition bearing the signatures of outstanding American Christians and Jews to use his good offices with the governments of Europe "to secure the holding, at an early date, of an international conference to consider the condition of the Israelites and their claims to Palestine as their ancient home, and to promote in all other just and proper ways the alleviation of their suffering condition . . . Not for twenty-four centuries since the days of Cyrus, King of Persia, has there been offered to any mortal such a privileged opportunity to further the purposes of God concerning his ancient people." Again on May 8, 1916, the same reverend memorialized President Wilson for the same end.

## MOSES HESS (1812-1875)

In 1858, a Jewish boy of Bologna, Italy, by name Edgar Mortara, fell ill, was stolen by his Catholic nurse and baptised into Catholicism. Despite the protests of the rulers of the then civilized countries—Louis Napoleon and others—the Pope, Pius IX, persisted in his refusal to release the young Jew, with the Latin phrase: “non possumus.” Upon reaching majority Mortara was given the choice of Catholicism or Judaism. But the animus deeply instilled in his veins throughout the most impressionable years of his life against his fellow-Jews resulted in his continued espousal of Catholicism.

In 1860, in the city of Damascus, Syria, a bloody feud raged between the Druses and the Maronite Christians. The inveterate scapegoats naturally were the Jews. The Jews were held responsible for the massacre of the Christians by the Druses.

Incidents of this nature were not isolated. Every few years in different localities, outrages occurred against the Jew. Sensitive Jews—assimilated as well as orthodox—reacted with indignation and with yearnings for a revolution in Jewish life which would remedy this anomaly of a homeless people.

And thus arose Moses Hess, Dr. Leon Pinsker and Dr. Theodore Herzl.

Himself a link in a long chain of rabbis, students and scholars, Moses Hess helped in the forging of a great link—a constructive chapter—in his people's history now unfolding itself in a creative Eretz Israel.

Born in Bonn, Germany, Hess received a traditional rabbinic education and in this sense (as we shall see) differed from Dr. Herzl. The liberal, socialistic movement sweeping Germany in those days claimed him as one of its most ardent protagonists. He was one of the ablest writers and editors in Germany. His influence on Karl Marx (1818-83) was notable. (See Sidney Hook's "From Hegel to Marx.") But unlike many another socialist or revolutionary and unlike Karl Marx whose Jewish descent did not prevent his anti-Jewish diatribe, Hess's embracement of the socialist ideal did not result in an irreparable breach with his people. He eventually espoused the cause of his own people as well. The Mortara and Damascus incidents (of 1858 and 1860 respectively) shook him to his moral foundations. His prophetic soul and unquenchable ardor of demanding justice for all oppressed peoples were aroused. In passing, it should be noted that he also acknowledges his indebtedness to Rabbi Kalischer.

Moses Hess felt that his people in days of yore

had contributed eminently to the progress of mankind simultaneously with their occupation of their own soil and their freedom from persecution and oppression. He sensed that a re-establishment of Israel on its ancestral soil would re-create those favorable conditions which had given rise to its glory in ancient days.

X Hess's reflections are elaborated upon in his classic "Rome and Jerusalem" (1862). It is a dithyrambic and a philosophical volume. He asserts for Israel the function of the spiritual leaven of civilization, just as for France he assigns primacy in belles lettres, for Germany in philosophy, etc. etc. He says that assimilation has neither halted the persecutor's hand, gained for the Jew the respect of others, nor re-established his self-respect. He advocates a Jewish colonization in Palestine, internationally guaranteed and under French protection.

Hess's appeal, however, fell on the deaf ears of an assimilated western Jewry. In the course of a few decades he was to receive rightful recognition for the seeds he helped plant.



## DR. LEO PINSKER (1821-91)

In 1881, after the assassination of Czar Alexander II, pogroms broke out in Russia. The consequences were three-fold: a mass emigration of Jews received its first impetus to the United States of America, publication in 1882 of the brochure "Auto-Emancipation" by Dr. Leo Pinsker of Odessa, and the first systematic emigration to Palestine, albeit on a small scale.

Dr. Leo Pinsker until 1881 had been an assimilated physician whose interest in Jewish problems had been virtually nil. Possessed of a sensitive soul, however, he reacted with feelings of smart to the pogroms of 1881 and embodied his analysis and concrete proposals in his classic brochure "Auto-Emancipation." He there points out that since 70 C.E. the nations of the earth have dealt with the Jews not as a nation, but as individuals. That is the crux of the Jewish problem and therein lay the root of all evil affecting the Jews. Of all the peoples, the Jew was the only homeless people. Mr. Abraham Revusky in his book "Jews in Palestine" summarizes very aptly and tersely Pinsker's analysis, and we quote from page 7 thereof the following: "The Jewish nation is neither alive as a properly constituted nation ought to be . . . with a common land, common language, institutions, etc. . . . nor is it dead as might reasonably be expected of a people so long deprived of the attributes of nationhood. Instead, the Jews are the living dead, a ghost nation

that inspires fear and therefore hatred in the living nations . . . There can be but two alternative courses of action open to the Jews: assimilation or reconstruction as a nation among nations . . . Assimilation is suicide and moreover impossible on a national scale. The other nations could not and would not absorb so many millions of a strongly characteristic race. The only other alternative is auto-emancipation."

Pinsker favors an autonomous territory for the Jews whether in Palestine or elsewhere. In this he may be classed as a territorialist before, however, the antithesis was posed in Jewish life of Territorialism vs. Zionism.<sup>1</sup> And structurally he refers to his proposed territory as a "Kolonistengemeinwesen" (colony).

Pinsker proposes the formation of a *Direktorium* consisting of choice spirits, men of vision and men of finance, to guide the movement, in addition to a financial company or instrumentality.

In 1884 at a conference at Kattowitz, Pinsker became president and leader of the "Chovevei Zion"<sup>2</sup> (Lovers of Zion) movement and so became Palestinocentric. Pinsker, like Herzl, had grand political ideas but he apparently lacked Herzl's genius. Pinsker had to remain sated with the relatively small accomplishments of the Chovevei Zion.

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 21 et seq.

## "CHOVEVEI ZION" AND THE BILUISTS

The Russian pogroms of 1881 generated a movement of emigration to Palestine among Jewish university students, who adopted as their slogan the Biblical passage: "*Beth Iakov, lechu unelcha.*" (O House of Jacob, come ye and let us go up.) The condensation of the slogan into the initial letters of the four constituent Hebrew words gave this movement its name: BILU. These pioneers came to be known as the Biluists. They preferred Palestine to America, though the prospects in the two countries were not comparable. Their preference was ideological: they envisioned a new Jewish homeland which one day would arise in the ancient Jewish homeland, though at the moment they knew that Palestine was a desert.

The force behind the Bilu and other emigratory groups to follow and behind the colonization of Palestine by Jews on a systematic scale from 1884 and on were the "Chovevei Zion" (The Lovers of Zion), federated that year from very loosely-knit units sprung up since 1881. Dr. Pinsker was their first leader. They were the precursors of Dr. Theodore Herzl's World Zionist Organization. They did the spadework which made possible the later advent of the political Zionist movement. They instilled enthusiasm and diffused

propaganda in Russia, Roumania and other countries of persecution. They and the Biluists were responsible for the first organized attempt in 2,000 years to resettle Palestine.

Conditions in Palestine at that time were primitive. The country had been sorely neglected and laid waste, the soil was barren, the inhabitants were few. Of a total population of 350,000, only 30,000 were Jews. Only two percent of the Jews worked the land. Old Jews came from the lands of the Diaspora to die in the Holy Land and were supported from the Diaspora by a Halluka, or dole, system.

In ancient days, the Bible tells us, Palestine flowed "with milk and honey." It was a land "of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat, and barley and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of the oil-olive, and of honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not want anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." (Deuteronomy VIII, 7-9).

Located on the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean, Palestine in size is not much larger than Vermont. But its infinite variety of view, its majesty, and its historic associations have given it an importance far beyond its size. On the shores of the Mediterranean is the fertile maritime plain

of Sharon, planted with date palms in ancient days and to-day well-suited to citrus culture. Between the highlands of Galilee and Samaria is the productive inland Valley of Jezreel or Esdraelon, extending from Mt. Carmel near the Mediterranean to the hills of Gilboa near the Jordan, and natural path for invading armies throughout historic times. This valley is well-suited to grain culture as well as mixed farming. In the south is the semi-arid land of the Negeb. The highlands of Palestine embrace from north to south the hills of Upper and Lower Galilee, Samaria and Judaea, famed geographical sections in Palestine. The country is divided in half between western Palestine and Transjordan (literally—across the Jordan), another name for eastern Palestine, by Lake Huleh, the Sea of Galilee, the River Jordan and the Dead Sea. The Jordan traverses the length of the country. Transjordan is largely fertile plateau land. The climate of Palestine ranges from temperate to sub-tropical. The Valley of Jezreel has the same climate and fertility as the Royal Valley of California. In some respects it is even superior by reason of the geologic formation of its rocks. This small country has the widest range of topography and climate.

The famed Jewish historian, Professor Heinrich Graetz, has said of this small country in ancient times, *inter alia*, the following:

“The greater portion of Palestine is blessed

with an abundant yield of produce. This is due to the nature of the soil, and to the copious drainage from the highlands of Lebanon, Hermon (Anti-Lebanon), with their spurs, as well as the rain which falls twice a year . . . The hill-sides were adorned with blooming gardens, and with vineyards exuberantly laden with grapes. The mountains, overshadowed by forests of terebinths, oaks and yew trees, favoured the fertility of the soil . . . Lofty peaks and undulating crests of mountains are seen in alternation with verdant plains, and their images are reflected upon the glittering surface of many waters. These towering heights, far from overburdening and depressing the mind, draw it away from the din of the noisy world, and call forth cheering and elevating emotions.

"If the beholder be endowed with the slightest spark of poetic sentiment, it is brought into life and action by the attractive sight of this panorama. From the varied charms of scenic beauty the most gifted men of this land drew their inspiration for their pensive poetry. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans had a conception of this species of poesy, which has its root in a deep consciousness of the greatness of the Creator."<sup>1</sup>

In the eighteenth century, Montesquieu in his "Persian Letters" summarizes sixteen hundred years

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<sup>1</sup> Heinrich Graetz, "History of the Jews," Jewish Publication Society, 1891, Vol. I, pp. 46-49.

of Palestinian history. He says: "Since the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian, Palestine has been uninhabited. We must admit that a great destruction is irreparable because a people which has not a certain centre remains in the same condition."

And our own Mark Twain in "The Innocents Abroad" relegates Palestine to the limbo of history. "Palestine is desolate and unlovely. And why should it be otherwise: Can the curse of the Deity beatify a land?

"Palestine is no more of this workday world. It is sacred to poetry and traditions—it is dream-land."<sup>2</sup>

The Biluists—the first contingent to Palestine numbering only nineteen men and one woman (and later augmented in similar microscopic fashion)—settled at first on the land of the Mikveh Israel agricultural school<sup>3</sup> established in 1870 south-east of Jaffa by the Alliance Israélite of France, and the only agricultural undertaking up to that time. Their welcome at the individualist settlement at Mikveh Israel was not very hearty. They were inexperienced in the ways of agriculture and they had to compete with the Arab felaheen (peasants) whose standard of living was low. They were penniless and received no ample financial backing from

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<sup>2</sup> "The Innocents Abroad," Vol. II, American Artist Edition, Harper & Bros., p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> Founded from a philanthropic motive as a result of Rabbi Kalischer's urgings.

the Diaspora. Palestinian vision had as yet aroused no Hinterland of economic shoring. And so their prophetic vision of establishing a co-operative settlement in Palestine went to seed.

The first colony to be established in modern Palestine was Petach Tikvah (Gateway of Hope), founded by a group of Jerusalem Jews in the late 1860's. They were forced to abandon it by reason of a malarial epidemic. The first colony to be established on a permanent basis, however, was Rishon le Zion (First in Zion), south of Jaffa, also founded by Jerusalem Jews in 1882. It was an individualist colony. To this colony Biluists from Mikveh Israel repaired, hoping for more smiling fortunes. But fate was hostile to them here as well, for the same reasons.

A co-operative colony established by Biluists in 1884 at Gederah by trickling Diaspora support could not withstand the trials and hardships it encountered on its path and it turned to individualistic farming and the employment of cheap Arab labor.

Petach Tikvah, the abandoned colony hereinabove referred to, was re-settled by Russian Jews as an individualistic colony in the early 1880's. Today it has the largest orange groves in Palestine.

Individualistic colonies were established by middle-class immigrants in the wake of Roumanian persecution at about the same time. Zichron



Yakov (Memory of Jacob), situated between Haifa and Jaffa, and Rosh Pinah (Cornerstone) were founded by Roumanian Jews, fleeing persecution in 1882, and encouraged in their journey to Palestine by that romantic Englishman, Sir Lawrence Oliphant. These emigrants together with the five hundred odd Biluists constitute the "First Aliyah"—Ascent—or the first wave of immigration to Palestine in modern times.

In addition to the barrenness and marshiness of the primitive land, many of these pioneers in their inexperience planted wheat and corn on soil in an area unsuited for grain and their capital was soon exhausted.

When the capital of these early colonists had been exhausted, in response to their outcry, and bolstered by the Chovevei Zion, it was Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris (1845-1934) who came to their rescue financially and studied their future needs. Pre-eminent among financial contributors to the early pioneers of Palestine and to the land cultivators in Eretz Israel was this head of the Parisian branch of the House of Rothschild. He was alone among millionaires in these early days who interested himself—spiritually and financially—in the welfare of the pioneers, in their needs and in their hopes. He bought land, drained marshes, built colonies, schools, synagogues and clinics. The estimate of his Palestinian benefactions over 40 years is more than \$20,000,000.

The Baron's methods at first, however, were paternalistic and "patrician." He dictated to the colonists through his administrators—who, in addition, were unfriendly to Zionist aims—what they should plant. Some of the colonists themselves lost their pristine idealism and employed cheap Arab labor. Rothschild built one of the world's largest wine cellars in Rishon le Zion—in fact, it is said, the world's second largest—and discouraged diversified farming—such as, dairy farming, grain farming and dry-farming. He put immense stock upon wine cultivation. He impaired their initiative by paying them for their wines 20-30% above the market price—a subsidization. Nor did he seek to develop a wine market.

However, before his death in 1934, time and experience had instructed the Baron to democratize his methods and depaternalize his attitude towards his colonies. The colonists were given far greater measures of independence and democracy. In fact, as early as 1899 he had taken the initial step in this direction by turning over the management of his colonies to a directorate, the ICA, the Jewish Colonization Association—founded in 1889 by Baron de Hirsch whose agricultural philanthropies and interests centered in Argentine. The ICA also acquired some new land. It created a model farm at Sedjera in Lower Galilee to train Jewish farmers who thereafter could settle on land of the villages it founded near Tiberias. Sedjera can in a measure

be considered the fore-runner of the future "Kvut-zoth" or communes in Palestine. The withdrawal of Rothschild's subsidies led to the colonists' expansion of their cultivation to include diversified farming—olive trees, almond groves, grains, fruits and vegetables—and thus not leave them at the mercy of one crop on a fluctuating market. The formation of the Carmel Wine Co. developed markets for the wines in several continents.

But it was not until the end of World War I that Rothschild through the newly-formed PICA, Palestine Jewish Colonization Association, which took over the management of the colonies from the ICA, established the collective colonies of Tel Hai and K'far Gileadi on the northern outposts. These colonies were in distinct contrast to the individualist colonies of Rothschild where self-interest and exploitation had superseded initial self-sacrifice and idealism. PICA founded Benyamina and Pardess Hannah in Samaria, drained the Kabbara swamps, undertook industrial enterprises, and until surpassed in recent years by the Jewish National Fund, was the largest landowner in Palestine.

The advent of the Political Zionist Movement in 1897 did not convert the Baron to Political Zionism, for which he lacked vision. He failed to be converted by Herzl who had sought to win him over to Political Zionism. He was known among Jews by the affectionate title of "*Hanadiv*" (*The Philanthropist*.)

The Chovevei Zion or Lovers of Zion too contributed their financial mite to support and found some colonies in addition to those controlled or founded by Rothschild.

We now approach the end of the nineteenth century and the birth of political Zionism. By 1897 there were 22 Jewish colonies owning 300,000 dunams (75,000 acres) of land, counting in their midst 5,000 colonists, of a total Jewish population of 70,000 in Eretz Israel. Turkey, although known then as "the sick man of Europe," raised obstacles to Jewish immigration and settlement, but because the infiltration was small, they were outmaneuvered and circumvented. And thus the cornerstone for a Jewish commonwealth was being slowly laid.

The privations of these early pioneers and many to follow are indescribable. Malaria and trachoma took their toll of many lives. Bedouins looted and plundered. Taxes were very high. Turkish officials were handed baksheesh to circumvent immigration restrictions. "They are like the early New England pioneers, with the difference that the Americans had the easier lot and the simpler task, for these latter were taking over virgin soil of abundant riches, whereas these Jews are cultivating a wasted land which will yield its fruits only when watered with men's sweat and tears."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> John Haynes Holmes, "Palestine To-Day and To-Morrow," Macmillan Co., 1929, p. 194.

The Lovers of Zion believed in slow, progressive agricultural penetration and infiltration into Palestine. Their premise was not one of political action. Political Zionism had not yet been born.

At the birth of political Zionism, the colonies in Palestine were still dependent and not self-sustaining. The sustained idealism of the subsequent pioneers had not yet displayed itself. A crude cornerstone only had been laid. The pioneers to follow were of more steely mettle than the Biluists and they had more solid organization and backing behind them. The World Zionist Organization, whose debut in Palestine followed shortly after the Second Aliyah (see pp. 57, 61) had greater financial resources than the Chovevei Zion. It saw clearly that the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth required a large, independent farming class, not dependent upon Barons nor upon cheap Arab labor. It saw the need of a collective, co-operative farming class of social idealism to conquer the land and to be integrated into the land in the process of conquest. This neither ICA nor PICA saw, for though they trained farmers for eventual individualistic settlements, they did not help them settle in collective enterprises. The only exceptions were Tel Hai and Kfar Gileadi, collective colonies established by PICA.

## DR. THEODORE HERZL (1860-1904)

A majestic figure of chiseled features, captivating black eyes, beautifully flowing beard, towering head and shoulders above his fellow men—such was the meteoric personality of Dr. Theodore Herzl. Punctilious to his fingertips in his manners, a soul hyper-sensitive to the needs and sufferings of his fellow-men, he illuminated the Jewish horizon for but less than a decade. He passed away in the prime of his youth, stricken down while engaged in creating the most constructive Jewish value of the last two thousand years.

The most creative and dynamic Jew of nineteenth century Jewish history, he has left an imprint on that history which elevates him to the heights of the immortals of the human race.

Dr. Herzl is the founder of the modern political Zionist movement. Born in Budapest in a more or less assimilated environment, he felt himself a citizen of the world. Things Jewish were distant and alien to him. Admitted to the bar, excepting for a brief civil service with the Landesgericht and then the Handelsgericht, he never practiced (like Heinrich Heine) but followed his natural bent for journalism. He wrote plays staged in the leading capitals and was the recognized master of the feuille-

leton on the leading Viennese newspaper, the *Neue Freie Presse*.

In 1893, Herzl had advocated conversion to Christianity as a solution for the Jewish question in Austria. His idea was to reach the Pope and in return for his help against anti-Semitism, Herzl would lead a movement among the Jews for the conversion of the young to Christianity. "... In the broad light of day, at noon on a Sunday, a solemn and festive procession accompanied by the pealing of bells, shall proceed to the St. Stefan Cathedral in Vienna. There shall be no furtiveness and no shamefacedness, as hitherto; it shall be done proudly and with a gesture of dignity. And inasmuch as the adult leaders are to remain Jews, they shall lead the procession to the threshold of the church but shall not enter themselves. The entire enterprise should take on a mighty character of integrity. We, the intermediary generation, are to remain where we are; we shall stand by the faith of our fathers, but our children shall pass over to Christianity before their conversion can bear the character either of cowardice or of interested scheming."<sup>1</sup>

Mighty events, particularly the Dreyfus affair, gradually shook him out of his assimilationist complacency. The year 1894, the Dreyfus trial shook

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<sup>1</sup> Alex Bein, "Theodore Herzl," Jewish Publication Society of America, 1940, p. 94.

the French capital. Herzl was then the Parisian correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* and covered the trial for his newspaper. Captain Alfred Dreyfus, as is well known, was most perjuringly, maliciously and viciously found guilty of treason to the French Republic and was sentenced to spend the rest of his days in Devil's Island. The street scenes and demonstrations following his conviction added insult to injury. The wild crowd shouted: "Down with the Jews." Captain Dreyfus proclaimed aloud: "I am innocent, long live the French Republic."<sup>2</sup>

With searing effect, the trial and the post-trial scenes branded themselves into the prophetic heart and soul of Theodore Herzl. The slumbering Jew within him was aroused. Like a lion he leaped forward to espouse the cause of his downtrodden people whom but yesterday he had not known.

Herzl had sudden flashes of lightning-like inspiration. The whole hopeless tragedy of his people in all its rawness was opened up in its abysmal proportions before his mind's eye. Herzl began to assemble all his onrushing ideas in a book published in 1896, "*Der Judenstaat*." He writes of these days in his inimitable, fragrant "*Diaries*" as follows:

"During these days I was more than once afraid that I was going out of my mind. So furiously did the cataract of thoughts race through my soul . . . I believe that I shall be named among the great

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<sup>2</sup> It was not until 1905 that he was finally whitewashed.



benefactors of mankind . . . The old expression for this kind of thing was inspiration."<sup>3</sup>

His majestic personality and imposing winsomeness, spellbound even skeptics of his plan. It was Dr. Moritz Gûdemann, Chief Rabbi of Vienna, a non-Zionist, who in his captivation by Herzl (seeking an introduction through him to Lord Rothschild), remarked to him: "If you are right, then my entire philosophy collapses. And yet I wish you to be in the right. Until now I believed that we Jews are not a people: that is to say, I believed we are more than a people. I believed we had been entrusted with an historic mission as the carriers of the idea of humanity among the peoples."<sup>4</sup> These remarks were uttered by Gûdemann in the afternoon after Herzl's reading to him his proposed Address to the Rothschilds. That evening as they went down to supper, Gûdemann said to Herzl: "It is as if I saw Moses in the flesh," and later said to him: "Continue to be that which you are. Perhaps you are the one who has been called by God." And then Gûdemann kissed Herzl as he left.<sup>4</sup>

In the proposed Address to the Rothschilds, *inter alia*, Herzl has these remarkably prophetic utterances (as culled from his "Diaries") :

"So they will drive us out of these countries, and kill us in the others, where we take refuge.

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted from Bein, *supra*, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> See Bein, *supra*, p. 150.

"Is there then no solution?

"Yes, gentlemen, there is a way which was tried once before. We must repeat a very old, very famous, and thoroughly tested experiment. But in a different, modern, and more refined form . . . This simple, ancient experiment is the exodus from Mitzraim.

"The Jewish State is inevitable, gentlemen, and it will come into being with you or without you . . . So that the contemptuous epithet "Jew" will become a term of honour, like "Englisman," "Frenchman," "German," etc."

Unaware of his predecessors—Moses Hess, Dr. Leo Pinsker and others—Herzl proceeded further than they had trodden. He was the first modern Jewish statesman as distinguished from a statesman of Jewish extraction. He demanded an international political approach to the Jewish problem and was dissatisfied with a slow agricultural infiltration of Jews into a haven of refuge. He said in his "Judenstaat": "I think the Jewish question is a national question which can only be solved by making it a political world question to be discussed and controlled by the civilized nations of the world in council."

"Der Judenstaat" was a clarion call to a down-trodden people. "We are a people, a people. Everywhere we have tried honestly to disappear in the surrounding community, and to retain only the faith of our fathers. We are not permitted to do it.

In vain do we show our loyalty, and in some places an exaggerated patriotism; in vain do we bring the same sacrifice of blood and gold as our fellow-citizens; in vain do we exert ourselves to increase the glory of our fatherlands by achievements in art and science, the wealth of our fatherlands by our contributions to commerce. In our fatherlands, some of which we have lived in for centuries, we are denounced as strangers: often by those whose forefathers were not yet in the land when ours were already sighing there. It is the majority which decides who is the stranger in the land: it is a question of power, as in all national relations . . . We shall at last live as free men on our soil and die peacefully in our own homeland . . . And that which we seek there for our own will stream out mightily and beneficently upon all mankind."

His analysis is most pungent: "Every nation in whose midst Jews live is either covertly or openly, anti-Semitic . . . Modern anti-Semitism is not to be confounded with the religious persecution of the Jews in former times. In the principal countries where anti-Semitism prevails, it does so as a result of the Emancipation of the Jews. We stepped out of the Ghetto only to enter into fierce competition with the middle classes . . . Our national character is historically too famous, and, in spite of every degradation, too fine to make its annihilation desirable. The distinctive nationality of the Jews neither can, will, nor must be destroyed. The Jewish question

is no more a social than a religious one, though it sometimes takes these and other forms. It is a national question, which can be solved only by making it a political world-question . . . Yes, we are strong enough to form a State and, a model State at that."

The "Judenstaat" projects the foundation of a "Society of Jews" and a "Jewish Company" as the two instrumentalities of State-building. The "Society of Jews" was to be the politico-scientific arm of the movement; the "Jewish Company" the financial arm, with a capital of £50,000,000, and with headquarters in London.

Herzl lost no time. Early 1897 witnessed the call for and the summoning of the First World Zionist Congress—factually it was the First World Jewish Congress. It was to have been held in Munich, Germany. The protests of the reform rabbis and the Jewish community of Munich, however, resulted in a transfer of the locus to Basle, Switzerland.

Hailed by the downtrodden and oppressed masses of Eastern European Jewry as their Messiah, Dr. Herzl was spurned by the millionaire assimilated Jews of Western Europe and America.

After a mass meeting in the London East End in 1896, Herzl records in his "Diaries":

"A light mist has begun to beat about me, which will perhaps deepen into a cloud in the midst of which I shall walk."

The Reform Rabbinate (later dubbed by Herzl

"Protestrabbiner"), with few exceptions in those early days, was most vociferous in its denunciation of this new movement on the Jewish horizon. The Central Conference of American Rabbis, representing the reformed rabbinate, issued the following pronouncement:

"Such (Zionist-J.M.R.) attempts do not benefit, but infinitely harm, our Jewish brethren where they are still persecuted, by confirming the assertion of their enemies that the Jews are foreigners in the countries in which they are at home, and of which they are everywhere the most loyal and patriotic citizens."<sup>5</sup>

Professor Ludwig Geiger of Germany had the typical reform ideological reaction to Zionism. He declared:

"Zionism is as dangerous to the German spirit as are social democracy and ultra-montanism . . . The German Jew who has a voice in German literature must, as he has been accustomed to for the last century and a half, look upon Germany alone as his fatherland, upon the German language as his mother tongue, and the future of the German nation must remain the only one upon which he bases his hopes.<sup>6</sup> Any desire to form together with his coreligionists a people outside of Germany is not

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<sup>5</sup> Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, "Zionism," 1914, Jewish Publication Society of America, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> How ironic and macabre in view of subsequent developments in Germany.

to speak of its impracticability, downright thanklessness towards the nation in whose midst he lives—a chimera; for the German Jew is a German in his national peculiarities, and Zion is for him the land of the past, not of the future.”<sup>7</sup>

The Association of Rabbis in Germany, a reform group, declared the new movement as “contrary to the Messianic promises of Judaism as laid down in Holy Writ and in the later religious authorities; that Judaism demands of its adherents to serve the state in which they live and in every way to further its national interests; but that no opposition thereto can be seen in the noble plan to colonize Palestine with Jewish agriculturists, because that plan has no connection with the founding of a Jewish state.”<sup>8</sup>

Some of Herzl’s friends told him he was mad. His own newspaper, the *Neue Freie Presse*, refused to make any mention of Zionism. Dr. Max Nordau (of whom, anon) assured Herzl: “You may be mad, but if you are, I am as mad as you.”

Herzl rallied to his cause, however, at the very outset two of the most dazzling and brilliant Jewish figures of world renown in modern times, Dr. Max Nordau and Israel Zangwill.

Dr. Max Nordau (1849-1923) was one of the great men of the nineteenth century. Son of

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<sup>7</sup> Gottheil, *supra*, p. 102.

<sup>8</sup> Gottheil, *supra*, pp. 103-4.

a Hebraic scholar, he became a cosmopolitan. Psychiatrist, encyclopaedic in his knowledge of the most diverse fields, he acquired international fame through his mordant, revolutionary, scathing scalpel of the ills and the "conventional lies" at the root of the maladies of mankind. Scion of the prophets of old, he spared no Titan whom he considered at fault in society's state. He foresaw the precipitate, onrushing calamities that were to engulf all of the human family. Author of "Degeneration," "The Conventional Lies of Our Civilization," "Paris Under the Third Republic," "Paradoxes," "The Interpretation of History" and numerous other volumes, most of his books have been translated into most civilized tongues. At the height of his fame he became Herzl's first convert to Zionism—a revolutionary in a revolutionary movement. He became the tribune of the Zionist movement by delivering at each of its congresses (1897-1911) the major address dealing with the international situation and tragic plight of Jewry. He absented himself from the Congress of 1913 in view of the fact that Professor Otto Warburg, who had assumed the Presidency of the organization in 1911, was an out-and-out "Practical" Zionist with no political élan, such as possessed Nordau. After World War I, he favored a mass emigration of one half million Jews from Eastern Europe to Palestine and was disappointed in the slow action of the Zionist Organization. His stentorian voice, his

leonine head, his majestic face and his radiant heart combined with his extraordinary knowledge to make him one of the outstanding men and geniuses of his century.

Israel Zangwill (1864-1926) too was one of the great men of the nineteenth century. His many excellent novels—such as, “Children of the Ghetto,” “Dreamers of the Ghetto,” etc. etc.—are the best produced in the English language depicting the life of the Jew. Master stylist, profound thinker, great novelist and distinguished poet, his adherence to Herzl was another powerful asset for the young Zionist movement. Years later—in 1905—he broke with the Zionist Organization, dissatisfied with the strong Zionist opposition to Uganda in East Africa as a homeland, and formed his own organization—the International Territorialist Organization, whose aim was to seek a territory or territories for the Jews no matter where. His new organization, however, made little headway, but his pendulum never swung away at the same time that he preached Territorialism from a vigorous, pristine, maximum Herzlian Zionism. He felt that Zionism had fallen under the sway of Ahad Ha-am, father of “Cultural Zionism,” and had become diluted and emasculated.

Single-handed, with an indefatigable will and undeviating energy, in the face of derision and scorn, Dr. Herzl assembled in August 1897, the first gathering of world Jewry in 2000 years—the



First World Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland. And thus was founded the World Zionist Organization. This was the first assembly since the Dispersion, of Jews from various countries who gathered together to take counsel before the eyes of the entire world on the Jewish problem. At this Congress, attended by 197 delegates, the famous Basle Program, keynote of political Zionism, was formulated as follows: "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine." Zionism for the first time in modern history strode onto the arena of world politics and international diplomacy.

Dr. Herzl's diplomatic activities thenceforward were feverish. He had many audiences with the leading statesmen and ministers of Europe, including Kaiser Wilhelm and Sultan Abdul Hamid, in order to secure a Charter for the Jews to enter Palestine from its sovereign, Turkey, on a large scale and under international right and sanction. Turkey was "the Sick Man of Europe." Its financial structure was tottering. Herzl hoped to arrange a quid pro quo with the Sublime Port: in exchange for a financial injection into the Turkish veins he would realize a charter for Palestine. Herzl appealed to several Jewish bankers for funds in order to obtain the charter. But the bankers' characteristic reply was a reversal of the terms of the appeal: First get the charter, then we will lend you the money.

In 1902, the Sultan offered Herzl to "open his empire to all Jews who became Turkish subjects but the districts for settlement were to be determined in each case by the government, and Palestine was to be excluded. The Ottoman-Jewish Company could colonize in Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia and anywhere else, but not in Palestine! A charter without Palestine! I refused at once." (Herzl's Diaries).

In 1902 Herzl was invited to appear as an expert before a British Royal Commission on Alien Immigration in connection with Britain's proposal to restrict immigration. Lord Rothschild, first Jewish member of the House of Lords and wielding tremendous influence in governmental and Jewish circles, told Herzl, who met him for the first time—in London—that there never could be anti-Semitism in England. In France—yes, but not in England. He also told Herzl of his disbelief in Zionism and his skepticism that Palestine ever again could be realized by the Jews. (Ironically enough, fifteen years later the Balfour Declaration was addressed to his scion, another Lord Rothschild.) Herzl told Rothschild that he intended to tell the Commission of the wretched plight in which the Jews of Eastern Europe were steeped, and that masses were seeking for immigration outlets. Rothschild begged him not to as it would lead to restrictive laws. Herzl informed Rothschild that he looked upon the philanthropic approach as a ma-

chine for the suppression of the truth. He told Rothschild: "I shall tell the Commission what I think proper and the truth as I see it. That is my habit, and I shall cling to it now, too . . . I would be a wicked sort of person if I would say only that which might lead to the restriction of immigration. But I would be one of those wicked persons to whom the English Jews ought to raise a monument, because I would be protecting them from an influx of eastern Jews and therefore perhaps from anti-Semitism. But I have a plan to help, and I want to submit that to the Commission." (Diaries) He outlined his plan of a charter for a Jewish colony in Sinai Peninsula, El Arish and Cyprus. He told Rothschild that he did not favor Uganda in East Africa, when Rothschild mentioned the latter. Rothschild told Herzl that he was in favor of these proposals. "That was a victory."

Herzl refused to say anything before the Commission that might be used as bait by the proponents of immigration restriction. Not wishing to appear as meddling in British affairs, he refused to answer questions directed to specific recommendations by the Commission. He tried to impress upon the Commission the colossal dimensions of the Jewish problem as a world question requiring a political solution. He quoted the Basle Program as the goal of Zionism in reply to a question. He went on to say: "There are moments when immediate help or a direct step forward is out of the

question. The Zionists therefore consider themselves obligated to try, under all circumstances, to mitigate the hard fate of the Jews by appropriate measures."

The following day, he outlined before the Chairman of the Commission privately his plans for Sinai Peninsula, El Arish and Cyprus. These territories were in the vicinity of Palestine, on which Herzl had his eyes fixed as the ultimate goal. Uganda was too far away.

On this English visit Herzl met Joseph Chamberlain, British Foreign Minister. He asked Chamberlain for a charter over the British territories of Cyprus, El Arish and the Sinai Peninsula, all abutting, so to speak, on Palestine. Chamberlain frankly told Herzl that he had no idea where El Arish was. Herzl pointed it out to him on a map. When Chamberlain broached Egypt as a possible territory, Herzl forthwith replied: "We will not go to Egypt. We have been there." This evoked laughter from Chamberlain.

Britain, almost immediately thereafter, recommended to its governor in the Sinai Peninsula and to the Egyptian administration in joint charge of the territory to grant the Jews a charter for colonization of that undeveloped land. Although a commission of experts found the land suitable for colonization if irrigated, the Egyptian Government objected to it on the alleged ground that too

much water would have to be drawn from the Nile for irrigation.

Prior to Herzl's first English visit as the guest of the Royal Commission and as the spokesman of world Zionism, Rothschild had refused to meet Herzl. Despite their divergences of outlook, Rothschild was captivated by Herzl. He paid Herzl a return visit. He referred to Herzl as a "great man."

On a second visit to England shortly after the fiasco of the Sinai Peninsula project, Chamberlain told Herzl that in his recent African travels as he passed through Uganda, he pondered over its suitability for Jewish colonization; that although it was hot on the coast, it was cooler in the interior and could be suitable for European inhabitants. He told Herzl that the only doubt arising in his mind was the fact that he knew of Dr. Herzl's Palestinian goal. Dr. Herzl was not elated by this offer. But he felt that if workable, it opened the way for further political negotiations in the future. At any rate, he felt that it was a matter which should be put before the World Zionist Organization for its consideration.

Despairing of the immediate realization of his dream of a charter for Palestine, Dr. Herzl laid before the Sixth World Zionist Congress of 1903 a proposal from Joseph Chamberlain, Foreign Minister of Great Britain, for a large-scale, autonomous (except in foreign relations) Jewish settlement in Uganda, a large plateau in Central Africa. This

proposal came on the heels of the blood-curdling Kishineff Massacre in Russia in 1903. This offer, termed by Dr. Nordau a "Nachtasyl" (an asylum for the night—on the road to Palestine), met with vehement opposition on the part of the Russian Zionists in particular. To them, though their brethren from their own country were suffering persecution, Zionism without Zion was an anomaly. Herzl dramatically raised his right hand and swore allegiance to Zion in the imperishable words of the Psalmist: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem . . ." Zion was the ultimate goal, come what may in the interim.

In his Diaries, after the Congress, Herzl records the following sentiments relative to this issue: "Although in the beginning I wanted a Jewish state—no matter where—I later raised the flag of Zion, and I myself became a "lover of Zion." Palestine is the only land where our people can achieve tranquility. But immediate help must be given to hundreds of thousands."

Diplomatic courtesy dictated the sending of an expert commission to Uganda. The expert commission reported unfavorably on the project and it was dropped. Much of the land was unsuitable for the settlement of people from European climates. In addition, the British settlers objected to the proposal.

The Seventh World Zionist Congress meeting in 1905 officially rejected the offer but expressed

"a sincere hope that it may be accorded the further good offices of the British Government where available in any matter it may undertake in accordance with the Basel Program."<sup>9</sup> This was a prophetic resolution. In the meantime the first President of the World Zionist Organization had passed to the great beyond in 1904 at the tender age of 44, victim of a heart attack. He had premonitions of his premature death. In his "Diaries" during 1895 he records the following:

"At the same time I feel the anxiety portrayed by Heine in that wonderful little poem about the artist:

'I tremble lest I may pass away this night, pass away before I bring this work to a close'."

It is interesting to note that the official letter of the British Government offering the Eastern African protectorate makes reference to "the interest which His Majesty's Government must always take in any well-considered scheme for the amelioration of the position of the Jewish race . . ."<sup>10</sup>

"If you will it, it need be no legend." This famous maxim of Dr. Herzl has since become the watchword of Zionist activity. It is remarkable that Herzl, turned Zionist in 1895, had in the short space of two years' time convened the First World Zionist Congress, attended by close to two hundred

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<sup>9</sup> Gottheil, *supra*, p. 135.

<sup>10</sup> Gottheil, *supra*, p. 123.

delegates and many more visitors from all over the world. The revolutionary import of this event was fully appreciated by him. "If I were to sum up the Basle Congress in one word—which I shall not do openly—it would be this: at Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I were to say this to-day, I would be met by universal laughter. In five years, perhaps, and certainly in 50, everyone will see it." (Herzl's Diaries).

Dr. Herzl's legacy is the pulsating, thriving Palestine of to-day and the greater, more glorious, grander Palestine of to-morrow. He was the modern Ezekiel prophesying a revivification of the dry bones of the House of Israel. More than that, he actually gave them flesh and blood and blew into them a spirit of life and made them live. Despite his assimilationist background, he had an ingenious intuition to sense and remark that a return to Judaism must precede a return to Zion.

In his "Altneuland," a romantic novel (1902), he described the Palestine of twenty years hence—a fantasy of an established Jewish commonwealth, a Jewish government operated on a model economic, co-operative basis and deeply rooted in prophetic justice.

His lengthy diary is a storehouse of great knowledge and wisdom. It is a revelation and a mirror of a great soul. His many audiences with the élite in diplomatic circles, his restless activity, his innumerable tasks, his boundless heart beating



for the alleviation of the miseries of his downtrodden people—these and much more are portrayed in his masterful diary. We are left with the indelible impression that here we have not only a statesman of first magnitude, but we are face to face with a great, warm heart, a most charming personality, a gentleman fastidious to his very fingertips, one of the greatest, noblest and best sons of modern European Jewry.

His premature death was mourned universally by Jewry. It was a stunning blow to Jews the world over. Not only had he given his private fortune to the movement—he had given it his life-blood.

Herzl epitomizes the impact of Zionism on his life in the elegant sentence: "Zionism was the Sabbath of my life." No more fitting epitaph, if one were needed, could be inscribed on his grave.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Most of Herzl's adherents in the early days of Political Zionism were members of the Chovevei Zion groups. He was unaware of their existence when he wrote his "*Judenstaat*." Out of the ranks of the Chovevei Zion were to emerge some of the leading personalities in the Political Zionist movement and in Cultural Zionism (discussed in subsequent chapters), men of the calibre of Ussishkin, Wolffsohn, Achad Ha'am, etc. The Chovevei Zion groups in due course merged completely into the World Zionist Organization.

## SOME EARLY ZIONIST INSTRUMENTALITIES

Herzl gave form and shape to several Zionist institutions and instrumentalities. He created the World Zionist Organization. It met annually between 1897 and 1901 and has been convening biennially ever since. Any Jew over 18 who subscribes to the Basle platform and pays a shekel (a Biblical tax—fixed at 50¢) is entitled to elect delegates to the World Zionist Congress. More than one million Jews are shekel holders. Thus, the World Zionist movement is a democratic movement, responsive to the popular will and direction of the Jewish masses. It represents a revolt against the rule by *shtadlonim*, Jewish millionaires who, without specific mandate, importuned royalty or government in behalf of the Jewish masses in every hour of trial for oppressed Jewry. It represents a revolt against the philanthropic, palliative approach to the fundamental Jewish problem. It represents a surgical operation at the very base of Jewish life.

At the first Zionist Congress Professor Herman Schapira, mathematics professor at the University of Heidelberg, proposed the founding of the Jewish

National Fund. It was not until the Fifth Congress, in 1901, that the Jewish National Fund or *Keren Kayemeth l'Israel* was founded. Interestingly enough, it was incorporated in London by Lloyd George, Solicitor for the Zionist Organization in England, who in 1917 at the time of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration was Coalition Prime Minister. This fund is a people's fund, the aggregate of the pennies and dollars contributed by the Jewish masses the world over on the annual Tag Day and the annual Flower Day and by means of collection boxes maintained in Jewish homes and stores. In recent years its receipts have risen considerably and have been well over \$3,000,000. annually. It is one of the most distinctively and characteristically Jewish funds. It is the Zionist agency dedicated to the purchasing of land as the inalienable property of the collective Jewish people. Speculation in this land is thus forever precluded: it is leased out, usually on 49 year terms, and it is barred from sale and resale on the market. The fundamental ideology and philosophy underlying this nationally owned Jewish land is the Biblical dictate of God: "For unto me doth all the land belong." In Biblical times, furthermore, although land passed hands, title did not pass in fee but reverted to the seller in the jubilee year, to prevent a dispossessed and forgotten class from developing in society.

A cardinal requirement and principle on Jewish National Fund land is that of "*Avodah Atz-mith*," Self-labor. The parcels of land must be worked by the lessees. They cannot hire labor—either Jewish or Arab—and so the evil of exploitation is throttled and nipped in the bud.

The Jewish National Fund was destined to become one of the most organic and fundamental links in the Zionist revolution—for Zionism connoted a revolution in Jewish life. It signified a return to the soil of a homeless people after 2000 years of wandering. It signified all the normalizing processes and agencies of living in one's own homeland.

Years after its founding, under the presidency of the Iron Man of Zionism, the engineer Menahem Mendel Ussishkin, (1863-1941), the Jewish National Fund bought up large, continuous areas in the Valley of Jezreel or Esdraelon and converted a desert into a blooming garden. Many of the Zionist experiments, later spoken of, have had their matrix in this famous historic valley.

Herzl incorporated the Jewish Colonial Trust in London simultaneously with founding the Zionist World Organization. He created it with a view to financing a charter for Palestine. The millionaires abstained from buying its shares, and the public contributions did not come up to Herzl's expectations.

But in 1905 a subsidiary, the Anglo-Palestine Bank, was established to assist the Jewish settlement in Palestine and it has become a dominant Jewish banking institution in Palestine, branching out twelvefold and aggregating approximately \$5,000,000 in capital and reserves.

We shall later discuss other Zionist instrumentalities in their proper course.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Jewish National Fund has purchased as of May 1945 more than 750,000 dunams of land in Palestine—250,000 dunams of which have been acquired since September 1939—with the \$40,000,000. it has raised in the course of its existence. On its lands 190 agricultural colonies have been established: 87 Kvutzoth and Kibbutzim (communal settlements) and 103 Moshavim (smallholders' settlements). [See pp. 180-3.] On its lands, further, 57 workers' camps, 12 agricultural schools, 20 rural quarters and 16 urban quarters have been set up.

## ZIONISM: 1904-1917

### a. "PRACTICAL ZIONISM" VERSUS "POLITICAL ZIONISM"

The sweeping and dynamic Herzlian approach to Zionism hibernated with the demise of the prophetic leader. Practical colonization—although on a small, infiltrating scale—became the order of the day in Palestine. Herzlianism was not to be revived until in 1917 a Jew—Dr. Chaim Weizmann—perfected a chemical vital to Great Britain's warfare and alchemized Zionism into a world force.

David Wolffsohn, a Europeanized Polish Jew and wealthy merchant, succeeded Herzl as President of the World Zionist Organization. He had been one of Herzl's faithful lieutenants. Although lacking Herzl's vision and diplomacy, under his capable administration further progress was made in Palestine: land was purchased, colonies established, roads built, etc. He favored a compromise between Practical and Political Zionism: the union of both. The rise of the Young Turks in 1908 and their plans for Turkification precluded for the time being a vigorous political approach.

The Sixth World Zionist Uganda Congress had sent out two commissions: one to Uganda and one

to Palestine, the latter to investigate conditions in and make a survey of Palestine. A commission of three, headed by Professor Otto Warburg, professor of botany at the University of Berlin, and in 1911 successor to David Wolffsohn as President of the World Zionist Organization, reported to the 7th Congress in 1905 that it had made scientific surveys and studies in Palestine, opened meteorological stations, founded an Olive Tree Fund (forerunner of the Keren Kayemeth gigantic afforestation project following the war), helped establish the famous Bezalel School for Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem, etc. The founder of the Bezalel School was Professor Boris Schatz.

All this represented a partial victory for the so-called "Practical Zionists" over the "Political Zionists" who demanded a Charter as a sine qua non of Zionist work in Palestine. The "Practicals" argued that practical work in Palestine may sooner give rise and add weight to the cry for a charter than an abstract search for it. The "Politicals" spurned small-scale practical work.

#### *b.* SECOND ALIYAH AND "RELIGION OF LABOR"

In 1904 the Second Aliyah (Immigration Wave) occurred. It will be recalled that the first Aliyah got under way in 1881. After the pogroms of 1903-5 in Russia—Kishineff and others

—large numbers of Russian Jewish youths migrated to Palestine. Many of them were members of the Poale Zion party which had recently been organized. The adherents of this party were fired by a nationalistic-socialistic fervor.

The so-called "Religion of Labor" in Palestine dates from this period. "*Avodah*" in Hebrew significantly enough means both worship and labor. The early protagonist and prophet of this new outpost for "Kibbush Avodah"—conquest of labor—was Aaron David Gordon, more commonly known by his initials, A. D. Gordon. He was nearing fifty when he forsook a responsible administrative job on the estates of Baron Ginzburg of Russia and threw himself into the common toil and labor transformation of the evolving Palestinian Jewish life. His searing words were gospel to the idealistic Russian Jewish youth. We quote from his writings:

"A people which has been completely cut off from nature and, for thousands of years confined within the walls of the ghetto, a people that has become accustomed to every mode of life save the natural one—the life of self-conscious and self-supporting labor—such a people will never again become a living, natural, laboring people unless it strains every fibre of its will power to attain this goal. We strive to labor—not compulsory labor, but labor to which every human being is bound by an organic, natural tie, and by which a people is tied to its soil, and to the civilization which grows out



of its soil and its work. Labor is not merely the factor which establishes man's contact with the land and his claim to the land; it is also the principal force in the building of a national civilization.

"We have to make labor the center of all our endeavor, the foundation on which our whole undertaking is based . . . We need fanatics of labor, in the most exalted sense of the word."<sup>1</sup>

Many of the members of the Poale Zion group constituting the Second Aliyah had formed the first Jewish self-defense corps in Russia during the pogroms in Gomel of 1904. In Palestine they organized the "Hashomer" (The Watchman). Fearlessly and through a well-knit, Spartan organization, having a stringent regimen of training for its initiates, it gradually became the Aegis of the Jewish colonies, protecting them from pillaging and marauding and thievery. It earned the respect of the Jewish colonists, of Bedouins and of settled Arabs alike.

The "Chalutzim" or pioneers of the Second Aliyah founded in 1909 the first successful agricultural commune or co-operative colony in Palestine—the first so-called "Kvutzah"—on land leased from the Jewish National Fund in Daganian on the shores of the historic Sea of Galilee, also known as Kinnereth. Trained on the Zionist training farm at Kin-

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Abraham Revusky's pamphlet "The Histadruth—a Labor Commonwealth in the Making."

nereth in Lower Galilee, they represent the dawn of the genuine, modern Zionist colonization of social idealism in Palestine.

### c. TEL AVIV

In 1911 on sand dunes outside Jaffa, on the shores of the Mediterranean, a handful of souls established a new community—a community destined to emerge as the sole all-Jewish municipality in the world. The land was purchased by Dr. Arthur Ruppin (1876-1943), head of the Palestine Department set up by the World Zionist Organization in 1907 at Jaffa and an outstanding sociologist and economist. To-day it is a thriving city of 200,000 inhabitants—the renowned Tel Aviv. In 1936 a modern port was built in Tel Aviv. It also boasts an airport. And over the Immigrants' Quarantine Station—equivalent of our Ellis Island—are imprinted the clarion words: "The Ghetto ceases at the Gate of Zion."

This boardwalked city has become renowned as the "Paris of the Middle East." Former Inspector General of Police for Palestine, Joseph F. Broadhurst, has stated that "it is at Tel Aviv that one realizes the inherent possibilities of the Jews as a nation."

Incidentally, Broadhurst found no important crime in Palestine. Referring to the Jewish police, he said: "The men were smart and conscientious and

very anxious to follow the best traditions of the British police."<sup>1</sup> "Arabs knew (during the riots in the 20's and 30's—J.M.R.) that they could come to Tel Aviv and pass safely through its thoroughfares, though the life of no Jew was secure when he crossed the border into Jaffa, one hundred yards away."<sup>2</sup>

#### d. A PALESTINE DEPARTMENT IN PALESTINE

The opening of the Palestine Department by the Zionist Organization represented a further momentary victory of the "Practical Zionists" over the "Political Zionists." It also marked the debut of the Zionist Organization in Palestine as a pragmatic, creative factor in the life of the country.

Training farms were established by the Zionist Organization at Kinnereth in Lower Galilee, at Hulda and Benshemen in Judaea, and by the ICA at Sedjera. A training farm for women was established in 1910 at Kinnereth by the Verband Jüdischer Frauen für Kulturarbeit in Palestina. Later on the Women's International Zionist Organization established similar training farms for women at Nahalal and Ness Ziona and a chain of such farms was set up by the Moatzat Hapoalot, or Palestine Working

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<sup>1</sup> Ziff, *supra*, p. 182, quoting Joseph F. Broadhurst, "From Vine St. to Jerusalem," p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Ziff, *supra*, p. 183.

Women's Council. Women have assumed a most constructive role in the upbuilding of Palestine.

#### *e.* PUBLIC HEALTH

Under Turkish rule public health was unknown in Palestine. Malaria and trachoma were rampant and devastating in effect. In 1912 the well known New York philanthropist and Zionist, Nathan Strauss, opened up a Health Bureau in Jerusalem. In 1913 Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America, which had been founded the year before by that great woman and scholar, Henrietta Szold (1860-1945), began setting up—at first on a small scale, later on an expansive scale—maternity and child-hygiene centers to cater to Jew and Arab alike, without distinction. It dispatched a Medical Unit of doctors and nurses to Palestine. These institutions, novel for the Near East, helped stamp and root out malaria and trachoma from the daily life of Palestine. They lowered the Arab death rate and made possible Jewish development. They are the only institutions of their kind in the whole Near East.

Hadassah has a staff of over 100 physicians, several hundred nurses and a large complementary personnel in Palestine. Its largest hospital—in Jerusalem—has recently been moved to larger quarters on Mount Scopus as an adjunct to the projected

School of Medicine of the Hebrew University. Hadassah has spent more money on health work than the Palestine Government.

As a result of Jewish health work the Palestinian Arab's rate of natural increase has been one of the largest in the world at a time when the Arab rate of natural increase in other countries—such as Iraq—showed a decrease—i.e. an excess of deaths over births, due to lack of proper sanitation.

En passant, we may state that as a result of the Nazi persecution in Germany starting in 1933, many German-Jewish physicians of world-renown—such as the Zondek brothers, of Ascham-Zondek pregnancy test fame—have settled in Palestine and made it one of the important growing medical centers of the world. Eighty percent of Palestine's doctors are Jewish.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> With the coming of age of Jewish municipal institutions, Hadassah has been transferring some of its hospitals and other health centers to such local bodies in Palestine.

## HEBREW REVIVAL AND HEBRAIC RENAISSANCE

Prior to 1914 the school system in Palestine was polygot. The Alliance Israélite conducted its schools in French, the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden in German, the Evelyn de Rothschild School in Jerusalem in English, and other schools in Yiddish or Hebrew. As an excellent illustration of the latter may be cited the first Jewish High School in Palestine, the Jaffa Gymnasium. Hebrew as the medium of instruction was an innovation since the Exile. It had been considered for some eighteen hundred years as a holy tongue to be used only in the study of the holy writings and in rabbinic compilations, rabbinic epistolary communications or more rarely, in literary efforts. It was no longer considered a daily, profane, secular tongue. It had transcended secularism and assumed an esoteric, sacrosanct niche. It had become a moribund or even dead classical tongue, like Latin and Greek. Until there came to Palestine in the 1880's a Russian Jewish scholar, Eliezer ben Jehuda (1858-1922), a fanatic and a visionary, of the mettle who transform dreams into reality. He was the first to insist upon all-

Hebrew speech and he refused to talk to his wife and child (later the well-known Palestinian journalist and editor, and founder in 1912 of the first Hebrew daily in Palestine, the "Doar Hayom" (Daily Mail)—Ittamar Ben Avi) in any language other than Hebrew. His child was the first Hebrew child nursed on Hebrew and weaned in Hebrew in modern Palestine. Ben Jehudah was subjected to ridicule and contumely; he was dubbed crackpot and radical and atheist. But he would not be deterred nor deflected. His life's labor was a gigantic Hebrew lexicon of many volumes in which he displays an encyclopaedic linguistic knowledge. He is the progenitor of the Vaad Ha-loshon, or Language Council, which today is the innovator of modern Hebrew terminology and the final authority on Hebrew linguistic coinage.

The year 1914 witnessed the beginnings of the present-day centralized Hebrew school system of Palestine. During that year the famous "Language Conflict" engulfed the Jewish community of Palestine. The first Jewish scientific center in Palestine had just been constructed at Haifa—the Haifa Technikum. The Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden which had negotiated with the Turkish Government for the purchase of the land and the opening of the institution insisted that the language of the institution be German. The mycaenas of the school, Wolf Kalonymos Wissotzky, wealthy Russian tea merchant and employer of Achad-Ha-am, famous

Hebrew philosopher, and the emergent Zionist world insisted with equal intensity that the language of instruction be Hebrew. The Zionists rightly insisted that the Jewish National Renaissance demanded a unifying language. And what language was more appropriate, what language was more fraught with thousands of genial memories, more linked up with the soil and atmosphere of Palestine and the history of the Jewish race than the ancestral Hebraic tongue—the fragrant tongue of Isaiah and Jeremiah, Jehuda ha-levi and Moses Maimonides? It was this tongue which bore Ernest Renan's description of "a quiver full of steel arrows, a cable with strong coils, a trumpet of brass crushing through the air with two or three sharp notes." But Hebrew had as yet no modern scientific terminology. And so the Zionists were willing to concede—for the time being—until such a terminology was evolved that only one compulsory subject be taught in Hebrew. This was rejected by the Hilfsverein or anti-Zionist members of the Board of the Technikum. Thereupon the Zionist members of the Board resigned. Zionist teachers engaged by the Technikum and Zionist pupils enrolled in the Technikum then went out on strike in which they were joined by teachers and pupils in other Hilfsverein schools. The Palestine Jewish community and Jews throughout the world instinctively sided with the Zionists. The Zionists triumphed. The Hilfsverein withdrew completely



from the field of education in Palestine a few years thereafter. The Zionists took over the Hilfsverein schools and established a net of other Hebraic schools in various communities. A unifying force in the new Palestine had won the day over the forces of disunity and over the psychology of the Exile. At first, only mathematics and physics were taught in Hebrew. Today the Haifa Technikum provides a four year engineering and architectural course in Hebrew.

In 1932—to give an organic continuity to this story—the “Vaad Leumi” or National Council of Palestinian Jews assumed control of two-thirds of the Jewish school system of Palestine. This section of the Jewish school system had originally been controlled by the Zionist Organization. The other third of Palestine’s Jewish school system consists of Mizrachi (religious Zionist) schools, Labor schools, and private schools—the latter being conducted in English and French as well as in Hebrew. In 1935, 32,788 pupils attended the Vaad Leumi schools. The budget for these schools is largely raised by the Jewish communities and the Jewish Agency for Palestine. The Palestine Government has contributed a very negligible share to the maintenance of the Jewish schools. Although the Jews are responsible for more than one-half of the government’s budget through their taxes, they receive in return a mere pittance for their educational needs—for that matter, for any of their needs. The government

spends considerably more for the Arab schools. (Illiteracy has been vast among the Arabs.) The Jews in Palestine thus constitute to all practical purposes an "imperium in imperia."

The Jewish renaissance in Palestine brought to its shores some of the leading Hebraic constellations from Russia, men of the pre-eminent stature of Chaim Nachman Bialik, greatest of modern Hebrew poets,<sup>1</sup> giant in poetry, collector of Israel's ancient thesaurus — its Talmudic legends — publisher, founder of the "Oneg Shabbat" institution (Joy of Sabbath) at which the people gather on Saturdays to make merry over a collation and listen to words of wisdom, and inventor of the famous Palestinian pioneering dance, the Hora; of Dr. Saul Tchernichowski, poet in the spirit of Greece as well as Judaea, physician-author of a Hebraic medical terminology, and prolific translator into Hebrew of Homer, Plato, Goethe, Shelley, Byron, Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, Molière, etc. etc.; of Achad Ha-am (nom de plume of Asher Ginsberg), philosopher, stylist, level-headed thinker, father of cultural Zionism, and many others.

A host of literary figures—"foreign" and native—have sprung up in Palestine. The Hebraic renaissance in Palestine has marched hand in hand with the revival of the Hebrew tongue and its

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<sup>1</sup> See "Anthology of World's Best Poems," ed. by Mark Van Doren — Halcyon House.

recognition, together with English and Arabic, as one of the three official languages of the country.

The song of new Palestine—pioneering in substance and spirit and oriental in melody—has penetrated world Jewry and has been a spark plug in revivifying the moldy bones of Israel.

Palestine has six daily Hebrew publications—"Davar" (Word), organ of the Histadrut or Labor Federation, with two daily editions; "Haaretz" (The Land), "Doar Hayom" (Daily Mail), "Haboker" (The Morning), "Hayarden" (The Jordan), and the "Mizrachi" (The Eastern). These papers represent different points of view.

One English daily, "The Palestine Post," has been published for the past twenty-two years under Jewish auspices.

In 1931, over 300 weekly and monthly Hebrew periodicals of all sorts and genres—literary and professional—were being published. This proportion of publications to the population is unparalleled.

"Palestine Jewry was responsible for 94% of all the books published on both sides of the Jordan River in 1935. This is the astounding country where grimy-handed peasants read Hegel and Strindberg."<sup>2</sup>

The famous Hebrew art troupe from Russia—the "Habima" (the Stage)—has been transplanted from Moscow to Palestine since 1929. It

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<sup>2</sup> Ziff, *supra*, p. 188.

has gained international recognition with its dramatic performances in Europe and America of such plays as Anski's "Dybbuk," the "Golem," the "Eternal Jew," "Jacob's Ladder," etc. etc. Habima has in Tel Aviv some 2,500 annual subscribers who are thereby entitled to tickets at reduced rates.

Palestine also has three native art troupes—the "Ohel Company" (Tent Company), a workers' theatre supported by the Palestine Federation of Labor, the Histadrut, and organized as a co-operative; and the comic-satiric troupes known as "Kum-kum" (Teapot) and "Matate" (Broom).

The great Jewish violinist, Bronislaw Hubermann, founded the Palestine Symphony Orchestra in 1936. It has toured the neighboring Arab countries—such as Egypt—and has received overwhelming plaudits. The great Toscanini was a guest conductor. In this connection, Hubermann wrote:

"Is there any country more predestined to redeem the world by the new gospel of human dignity and human love than this Palestine of ours, that is being largely repeopled as a refuge from the hatred of the world, and that is being transformed by the labour of its inhabitants into a Garden of Eden? The orchestras of this land, ever old and ever new, have the task not only of strengthening the cultural life of Eretz, but of preparing the ground for

musical culture which may, should the time be propitious, present mankind with a mighty creation of music."<sup>3</sup>

Palestine has also a classical string quartette led by the former director of the Budapest Quartette; a Conservatoire in Jerusalem, in which German refugees are the bulk of the staff; a musical archive at the Hebrew University, and a number of musical schools and societies. Pre-eminent Jewish artists have performed in Palestine: Hubermann, Gabrilovitch, Rubinstein, and Heifetz.

The great role played by the Hebrew University in the Hebraic Renaissance in Palestine is related elsewhere in this story.

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<sup>3</sup> Norman Bentwich, "Fulfillment in the Promised Land," Soncino Press, 1938, p. 135.

## THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

We now approach the great centripetal force in modern Zionism: the Balfour Declaration. One hundred years ago, the Jewish population of Palestine had been but 10,000. At the outbreak of the World War it reached 100,000. This was the result of slow infiltration, mainly since the Biluists came from Russia in 1881 and successive small waves of immigrants escaping from pogroms and intolerable conditions in Europe and determined to build a new life, a new earth and a new heaven in "Altneuland." In 1914 there were 12,000 Jews laboring in 50 agricultural settlements occupying 400,000 dunams of land (100,000 acres). The percentage of Jews on the soil had risen from 2% in about 1881 to 12% in 1914.

Although the World War caused a suspension of Zionist construction in Palestine and led to expulsions therefrom of Jewish nationals from enemy countries, and induced raids upon and executions of some Jews in Palestine by the Turkish military authorities who feared Jewish sympathy for the cause of the Allies, it was the most productive period with respect to Zionist diplomacy. It marked the resurgence of Herzlianism. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, (born 1874), Zionist and brilliant Russo-Jewish

chemist, British naturalized subject, Professor of Chemistry at Manchester University, became head of the British Admiralty chemical laboratories during the war and perfected a chemical in Britain's darkest hour which helped his adopted country win the war. He discovered acetone-producing qualities in chestnuts, to be used in the manufacture of TNT, at a time when foreign sources of acetone were blocked to England. But he spurned all emoluments and titular recognition offered him by Britain. Rather, he pleaded for a Homeland for his oppressed people. Lloyd George in his "Memoirs" (Vol. II) pays respectful tribute to this scientific genius and great Jew. As early as 1904 Weizmann had met Arthur James Balfour, then Prime Minister. Balfour had then asked Weizmann, who expounded the Zionist aims to him: But why Jerusalem? To which Weizmann replied: And pray would you accept Paris for London? Balfour responded: But we have London. And Weizmann's characteristically incisive reply was: And we had Jerusalem when London was but a marsh.

Enemy alien Jews, expelled from Palestine because they would not fight for a decadent militarism by becoming Turkish subjects, formed under the inspiration of Joseph Trumpeldor, one-armed veteran of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, the Zion Mule Corps, led by Colonel Patterson, and which distinguished itself in the ill-fated

Battle of Gallipoli (1915-16). Colonel Patterson said of this corps: "I have been in the Army a long time, but I never saw anything like the way those Zionists picked up the art of soldiery." Trumpeldor became a captain in this unit. Several years later—in 1920—he fell with several co-pioneers in defense of the northernmost Palestinian outpost of Tel Hai during an Arab attack. Most noteworthy is the fact that for the first time since Hadrian, the Jews fought under their own banner, the blue and white Mogen David (Shield of David).

Vladimir Jabotinsky, brilliant Russian Jewish journalist, author, linguist, orator and firebrand, organized the Jewish Legion which fought with valor and distinction under Lord Allenby, and helped wrest Palestine from the Turk. Palestinian Jews escaped through Turkish military lines to join the outfit, augmented by Jewish volunteers from all corners of the earth, including America. They rendered yeoman's service despite the antagonism and hostility to it of the general staff of the Egyptian Expeditionary Corps, which even sought to disband the Jewish Legion. The three Jewish battalions had their own banner embodying the Shield of David and the slogan: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem." The sub-title of one of these regiments, the 38th Royal Fusiliers, was: The Judaeans. They were joined by the Zion Mule Corps.



Official dispatches commended highly their bravery and fortitude. General Bartholomew said: "For the Turks the end of the War was dependent upon maintenance of the Jordan front against Allenby, and on this decisive sector of the front not the Arab Army fought, but the Jewish Legion."

The Arabs contributed little to the overthrow of the Turkish overlord. According to Lloyd George, the revolting desert Arabs numbered but a few thousand horsemen and "the vast majority of their race in the Great War were fighting for their Turkish conquerors."<sup>1</sup> England paid over heavy subsidies for the revolting Arabs, who were mainly interested in loot. In fact, the Palestinian Arabs collaborated with the Turks. In those critical days, the Jewish population of Palestine was reduced from 100,000 to 55,000.

The central offices of the World Zionist Organization because of exigencies of war were shifted from Berlin to Copenhagen. And in America great material help and moral prestige were added to the cause of a Jewish Zion by organization of all Zionist groupings into the Provisional Executive Committee for Zionist affairs, headed by that illustrious American Jew, U. S. Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis. This Committee was set up before the Copenhagen Bureau was established. In fact, the American group became during the war,

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<sup>1</sup> Ziff, *supra*, p. 73.

the fulcrum of Zionist activity. The Copenhagen activities were limited. The presence in the United States at the outbreak of the War and the consequent enforced stay of Dr. Schmarya Levin (1866-1935), member of the World Zionist Executive and brilliant publicist and orator, added considerable fillip to American Zionist activities and education.

In the dark days of 1916-1917 Great Britain was seeking support all over, including Jewish moral and financial support, for the Allied cause, particularly in the United States. In the early days of World War I, there was some Jewish and intellectual sympathy—believe it or not—on the side of Germany, then represented as the center of Kultur and the greatest intellectual focus. “. . . the Balfour Declaration in England . . . was issued to win the support of an international community whose wealth and whose influence in every country of the world were deemed valuable to the Allied cause.”<sup>2</sup> Already in 1916 Britain was sending out feelers about a Jewish Palestine. The thought impressed itself upon Britain’s rulers that a righteous declaration such as a promise of Palestine’s restoration to the Jew would add moral and practical weight to the Allied cause. It would gain Jewish and Christian sympathy in the United States and

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<sup>2</sup> Paul L. Hanna, “British Policy in Palestine,” American Council on Public Affairs, 1942, p. 37.

in other neutral countries.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, reactionary Russia was aligned with the Allies, and Germany was making much capital and propaganda of this issue. Then, the Allied military picture was becoming gloomier. The German army was advancing on Paris. To wrest Palestine from the hands of the Turks would also be of vast significance to the British Empire since the possession of Palestine insured the safety of the Suez Canal, in which it had obtained dominant control under the Disraeli Government in 1875, and could serve as a base for an air route to India. Palestine, situated in southwestern Asia, is at the hub of three continents: Europe, Asia and Africa. England must also foil at the gateway to Asia Germany's *Drang nach Osten* (Drive to the East) by building a railroad, which it had already commenced, from Berlin to Baghdad and thereby threaten the British Empire. England knew that the Jews could build up Palestine as could no other people. And then again, as we noted towards the beginning of this story, England had had many champions of the cause of a restored Zion since the dawn of the nineteenth century. The English were known as a Bible-loving people. The English cherished the King James' version of the Bible alongside of

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<sup>3</sup> Before the curtain of World War I fell, more than 100,000 Jewish soldiers had been killed in action in the Allied Armies alone. The great Australian general, Sir John Monash, was Jewish.

Shakespeare as their two greatest literary treasures. The King James' version of the Bible had a tremendous influence on the development of English literature. It helped mould the language and literature of England indelibly and sank deeply into the subconscious thinking and orientation of England. As a result of all these factors, on November 2, 1917, Great Britain issued the famous Balfour Declaration and electrified the Jewish world. It promised Palestine to the Jew while it was still a Turkish possession. The Allies were looking forward eagerly to the dismemberment of Turkey.

The Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, issued by the British Government, signed by Arthur James Balfour, Foreign Secretary, and addressed to Lord Walter Rothschild, Vice-President of the British Zionist Organization, for transmission to the Zionist Organization, reads as follows:

"His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country."

It is very significant in view of England's subsequent attenuation and whittling-down pro-

cess of the intent of the Balfour Declaration, that the latter instrument does not once mention the Arabs by name nor grant them any affirmative rights.

The Balfour Declaration had won unanimous approval among both Allied and enemy governments. Nahum Sokolow (1860-1936), distinguished scholar, brilliant man of letters and linguist, later President of the World Zionist Organization for several years, had won the approval of a number of European Allied Chancelleries, such as Paris, and also of Pope Benedict XIV.<sup>1</sup> Brandeis had secured the wholehearted approval of Woodrow Wilson. And both the Austrian and German governments issued statements, bruited about even before the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, that after the war Turkey would further Jewish settlement in Palestine. In those days the embattled on both sides vied for Jewish support.

Shortly thereafter, spurred on by the Balfour Declaration, on December 9, 1917, Lord Allenby captured Jerusalem with the aid of the Jewish Legion. His Majesty's Government thereupon appointed a Zionist Commission to proceed forthwith to Palestine to act as a liaison with the military au-

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<sup>1</sup> With the exception of a short interlude of a few years (1931-5) during which Sokolow was President of the World Zionist Organization, Weizmann has been its President from 1921 to date.

thorities in order to implement the Zionist program enunciated in the Balfour Declaration. Dr. Chaim Weizmann headed the Zionist Commission. Major Ormsby-Gore, later Colonial Secretary, and Mr. James de Rothschild were designated as the British political officers on the Commission.

## THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY

One of the most remarkable incidents in all of history occurred in July, 1918. While guns were still reverberating in northern Palestine, the Zionist Commission laid on Mount Scopus, high above the Holy City, the cornerstone of the Hebrew University of Palestine, amidst most impressive ceremonies attended by Lord Allenby and his military staff. This was notice to the world that in this newly rising outpost where Western civilization had had its spiritual cradle, the spiritual would once again reign over the mundane and Isaiah would have the ascendancy over Mars. At the cornerstone ceremonies, Dr. Weizmann remarked: "Here the wandering spirit of Israel will find its secure haven . . . Here it will at last achieve peace with its own self and the world at large."

It is interesting to note that as long ago as 1762, the famous French philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in his volume on the ideal education of the child, "Emile," proposed a Hebrew University. He wrote: "The Jews in Dispersion have not the possibility of proclaiming their own truth to human-kind, but I believe that when they once have a free Commonwealth, with schools and universities

of their own where they can speak out safely, we shall be able to learn what it is that the Jewish people have to say to us." Cardinal Newman in the nineteenth century proposed a Christian University in Jerusalem as a rival to Oxford University.

In 1924 the first two research institutes of the Hebrew University were opened: In chemistry and in Jewish studies. Rabbi Dr. Judah L. Magnes, distinguished American reformed rabbi and brother-in-law of the distinguished constitutional lawyer, Louis Marshall [who in 1929 and until his death, headed the non-Zionist section of the Jewish Agency for Palestine (of which—later) ], became Chancellor of the University."<sup>1</sup>

The artist Pilichowski has painted the historic scene in 1925 of the official opening exercises and dedication of the Hebrew University. Representatives of the world's leading universities attended. On this historic occasion, Arthur James Balfour, aged 75, uttered the following imperishable words:

"From where you are sitting, you can see the very spot where the children of Israel first entered the Promised Land, and it was from this very hill that the Roman destroyers of Jerusalem conducted their siege which brought to an end that great chapter of the Jewish people. Could there be a

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<sup>1</sup> A considerable number in the Reform Rabbinate to-day are ardent Zionist leaders. "Protestrabbiner," though greatly diminished, are still actively on the scene.



more historic spot? From this hill you can see what then appeared to be the end of the Jewish community in the land they had made illustrious. Well, a new epoch has begun. The great effort within Palestine which came to an end so many hundreds of years ago, that aspect is going to be resumed in the ancient home of the people. Not that I would think for a moment that all Jewish culture in the interval between the destruction of Jerusalem and the expulsion of the Turk—that during that long period Jewish culture had ceased. Far from it. It has been uninterrupted, but it has been scattered. It was the separate efforts of separate individuals, separate men of science, separate theologians, separate philosophers scattered over the habitable globe. They have borne their share in the progress of civilization. They have done so, although scattered and unable to concentrate their peculiar national genius in a common task, and I confidently anticipate that in the future they will be able to give aid even more important. It is in these peculiar circumstances that the uniqueness of the present position takes its rise; it is from peculiar circumstances that we are now engaged in adapting Western methods and a Western form of University to an Eastern site, and to an education which is to be in an Eastern language. That is a new experiment. It has never been tried before. Unless I utterly misunderstand the signs of the times, unless I have pro-

foundly mistaken the genius of the Jewish people, the experiment is predestined to inevitable success, on which not only men of Jewish birth, but others sharing the common civilization of the world, will have reason to congratulate themselves.”<sup>2</sup>

Balfour spoke of the pre-eminent contribution to modern thought and science made by three Jews of our day—the galaxy of Einstein, Freud and Bergson—and of the brilliant future in prospect for the Hebrew University. Speaking of the language of instruction to be employed in the University, he had this to say:

“Hebrew has been developed and planned on lines which make it as flexible, as rich and as capable of adaptation to every new use, to every possible realm of knowledge, as any other language in which human thought can be expressed.”

The original Institutes of Chemistry and of Jewish Studies were in the span of a few years supplemented by Institutes of Mathematics, Physics, Botany, Hygiene, Microbiology, Zoölogy, Arab and Oriental Studies, the Humanities and a Department of Education.

The Royal Commission, in its report of 1937, said that the University “on the fringe of Asia maintains the highest standards of western scholarship. It wisely concentrates in its research work on such exhaustive study of Palestine and the neigh-

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<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Bentwich, *supra*, pp. 142-3.

bouring countries as cannot be made elsewhere, and so has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Near East and, particularly, of Arab life and culture."

Professor Albert Einstein, who is a Zionist and who delivered a lecture at the University on his theory of relativity, presented his epoch-making manuscript on relativity to the University.

Professor Joseph Klausner, Professor of Modern Hebrew Literature at the University, is a world-famous historiographer and is the author of an extensive History of Modern Hebrew Literature in several volumes.

Professor Scholem has written the most scholarly book in modern times on Jewish mysticism. Professor Torczyner has published erudite researches on Hebrew philology and archaeology. Notable contributions have been made in the field of Arabic studies. Professor Saul Adler, head of the Department of Microbiology, has conducted research and experiments on diseases of the Mediterranean on behalf of the British Royal Society. The late Professor Kligler, head of the Department of Hygiene, has been commended by the League of Nations Health Organization for the anti-malarial work of his department. The Department of Hygiene has also conducted fruitful research in the field of nutrition. Excellent collections of all sorts are in the University repositories. An undergradu-

ate medical college is about to rise in conjunction with the recently erected Rothschild Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus. Its library of hundreds of thousands of volumes is the largest in the Middle East. It also conducts some university extension courses, on the plan of some American universities, in Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv. The Daniel Sieff Institute of Agricultural and Chemical Research at Rehovoth, headed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, is affiliated with the University. The most remarkable of all phenomena is that all courses at the University are conducted in Hebrew.

The Hebrew University symbolizes more than anything else the Hebraic renaissance, the spiritual rebirth of Israel. It betokens a new dawn of light in the East; it is the prophecy of a fruition of an ancient message severed two thousand years ago.

## A MILITARY GOVERNMENT

Palestine, north and south, passed from Turkey after its reactionary rule of 402 years, to the Allies.<sup>1</sup> A military government was set up to administer the country until the final determination of its status was agreed upon by the victorious Allies.

The military government was antagonistic to Zionist claims and some of its personnel was anti-Semitic. It has been asserted that the military hoped to prevent the League ratification of the Balfour Declaration when the question of the mandate was going to be acted upon. So it encouraged and fostered Arab opposition. It did not co-operate with the Zionist Commission. It even interfered with the laying of the cornerstone of the Hebrew University in 1918 so that the British Foreign Office was constrained to intervene and sanction it. The military government's attitude was responsible for the Arab riots during Pass-over of 1920, in which a number of Jews were killed.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The entire British offensive in Palestine lasted from October, 1917 to October, 1918.

<sup>2</sup> At no time did the Military Government proclaim to the populace of Palestine the existence of the Balfour Declaration.

## ARAB ATTITUDE AT PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

Emir Feisal, son of King Hussein of the Hedjaz, and himself later King of Iraq, representing the Arabs at the Paris Peace Conference, and leader of the "Arab Revolt in the Desert"—the small number of Arabs who co-operated with Britain against Turkey—was so enthusiastic about the return of the Jews "home" and of the benefits that would accrue from it to the entire Arab world that he signed a peace pact with Dr. Weizmann on January 3, 1919, pledging co-operation between the Arab states and Palestine. He specifically and explicitly excluded Palestine from the Arab claims to independent statehoods on the express ground of its "universal character." Subsequent Arab claims that Sir Henry McMahon, British Minister in Egypt, had intended to include Palestine in his broadly defined promises to King Hussein of the Hedjaz of independent Arab states after the War in return for an Arab revolt against Turkey, have been expressly repudiated by McMahon, and all the evidence is clearly in favor of McMahon's repudiation. The great friend of Arabia Irredenta, Colonel T. E. Lawrence, has also affirmed

the unequivocal understanding of the Arabs that Palestine was excluded from the McMahon pledge. Shortly after the peace pact with Weizmann, Feisal wrote Professor Felix Frankfurter (later U. S. Supreme Court Justice), a member of the Zionist delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, in which he significantly stated the following: "Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best to help them through, and will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home . . . I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their place in the community of civilized peoples."

## THE MANDATE

Early in 1920 the newly formed Arab National Committee in Damascus, apparently in disagreement with Emir Feisal's stand at the Peace Conference, began agitating against a British mandate for Palestine and against a French mandate for Syria. This led to bloodshed in Tel Hai and Kfar Giladi, northern outposts. Captain Trumfeldor, despite a heroic stand, was killed in the defense of Tel Hai as were several other gallant defenders. Jews were attacked in Jerusalem during the Arab procession known as Nebi Musa. Six Jews were killed and 110 were wounded. The Supreme Allied Council was convening at the same time at San Remo and these shocking disturbances in Palestine led to the immediate and final settlement of Palestine's status.

In April of 1920 the San Remo Conference awarded a mandate over Palestine to Great Britain. The mandate document drawn up thereafter specifically incorporated in its terms the historic rights of the Jews to Palestine, and Great Britain was awarded a trusteeship to execute the terms of the Balfour Declaration on behalf of the newly created League of Nations. On July 24, 1922, the Council of the League of Nations took the



final step of formally approving the Palestine mandate submitted to it by the Supreme Allied Council. The Mandate as adopted had twenty-eight articles. In the interim between the approval of the Supreme Allied Council in 1920 and the ratification by the League of Nations in 1922, various intricate consultations and intrigues had been going on among the powers relative to Syria, boundaries, Holy Place Commission, and other related matters. The Powers insisted upon the solution of these matters before seeking League of Nations ratification. League approval of mandates was contingent merely upon conformance of their terms with the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Fifty-two nations endorsed the mandate and so, the Herzlian dream had become a part of international law. The American Senate and House of Representatives, although America was not in the League of Nations, unanimously approved the mandate. The American Palestine Convention of 1924 entered into between Britain and the United States sets forth the historic connection between the Jews and Palestine. It guarantees to America equal commercial rights in Palestine with League members and provides for no change in the Mandate affecting American rights without prior consultation with the United States.

Article 2 of the Mandate, one of its more important provisions, follows:

"The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, as laid down in the preamble . . . and for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of the country."

Article VI of the Mandate directs the Mandatory to "facilitate Jewish immigration," etc. "The plain sense of the document was inescapable. It sought to foster the establishment of a Jewish national home, while safeguarding, so far as might be compatible with that purpose, the rights and well-being of the non-Jewish population."<sup>1</sup>

"The necessity of creating a Jewish home . . . appeared as the primary purpose of the mandate, clearly differentiating it from the A category where the establishment of national self-government for the existing inhabitants was the principal ostensible aim."<sup>2</sup>

"The independence of the existing population was not given provisional recognition as in the other A mandates nor were rights of self-government immediately conferred upon it. The way was thus left open for the transformation of Palestine into a Jewish state."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hanna, *supra*, pp. 67-8.

<sup>2</sup> Hanna, *supra*, pp. 62-3.

<sup>3</sup> Hanna, *supra*, p. 158.

## BEGINNINGS OF A CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

On July 1, 1920 the first High Commissioner for Palestine assumed office and thus an unpopular military government was brought to an end.

Sir Herbert Samuel, former British Minister of the Interior, outspoken Zionist champion and a philosopher of note, later President of the British Philosophical Society, became the first Jewish ruler in Palestine in two millenia. Jews the world over exalted and thrilled to this token of compliance with its plighted word by a mighty Empire. Hopes ran high that the millenium was near. But, once again, the Jew was to eat the bread of affliction and sorrow. Samuel, fearing that he might be accused of favoritism to his own brethren and despite his specific mission to implement a trust for them, leaned backwards in the interests of the Arabs and to the detriment of the Jewish National Home. Thus, one of the chief instigators of the 1920 riots in Jerusalem, was Haj Amin el Husseini, of a prominent Moslem family. He was sentenced to a long prison term of ten years for his complicity, but managed to escape from the country. Instead of dealing firmly with this first organized sabotage of the Mandatory policy and thus setting an example and a course for any future threats, Samuel pusillanimously tried to appease the aggressor and

unwittingly fed his aggressiveness. He not only pardoned Husseini but went a step further and appointed him Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. Three other candidates for this high Moslem office—men more qualified and with stronger backing—were shelved. In addition, Husseini was designated President of the Supreme Moslem Council, which controls all the Moslem religious exchequers.

In the 1920 pogrom, Vladimir Jabotinsky, who had been founder of and a lieutenant in the Jewish Legion and later was to become leader of the Revisionist Party, and several others who had rendered valuable services in self-defense against the Arab pogromists, were sentenced to long prison terms. Jabotinsky received a fifteen year sentence equally with an Arab rioter convicted of rape. A storm of protest resulted in their pardon, as well as the pardon of Arab rapist-looters. Jabontinsky, however, was banned from Palestine.

In May, 1921, Arab attacks on Jewish settlements recurred. The immigrants' hostel at Jaffa and several large Jewish villages were attacked. Jews were massacred and Jewesses raped and property looted and pillaged with the connivance of the Arab police. Malicious lies were spread of Jewish attacks upon Moslems. The Arab leaders spread tales that the Jewish immigrants, several thousands of whom had already started streaming in, were "Bolsheviki" and were going to crowd the Arabs out. 47 Jews and 48 Arabs were killed and

many wounded on both sides. The Jewish self-defense was magnificent.

Following the official investigation by Sir Thomas Haycroft, Chief Justice of Palestine, a stop-immigration order was issued by the authorities in Palestine. The year before—1920— 8,000 Jews had migrated to Palestine. As a result of Jewish protests, however, this order was nullified several weeks later.

The first of a series of iniquitous White Papers on Palestine was issued in 1922 after the disturbances of 1921. It is known as the Churchill White Paper, Winston Churchill being then Colonial Secretary. An Arab delegation dispatched to London at that time had demanded the abrogation of the Balfour Declaration. The first White Paper was not as bad as some that were to follow but it inaugurated the whittling-down process of Jewish rights to Palestine. It first assured the Arabs that Jewish nationality would not be imposed "upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole." It then went on to nullify the governmental intent in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, apparent in our subsequent discussion, when it stated: "The terms of the Balfour Declaration did not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine." It goes on,

however, to declare: "But in order that the community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine *as of right* and *not on sufferance*." (Italics ours) The paper then concludes by regulating Jewish immigration into Palestine in accordance with its "economic absorptive capacity" in order to develop the Jewish National Home. This White Paper, it is apparent on its face, is taut with tensions, inner contradictions and mutual sops for the Jews and Arabs. It received official Zionist approval because of political pressure that the Mandate would not otherwise be ratified by the League of Nations (which ratified it shortly thereafter on July 24, 1922). The Arabs rejected it. However, the Peel Report of 1937 makes this significant statement:

"This definition of the National Home has sometimes been taken to preclude the establishment of a Jewish State. But, though the phraseology was clearly intended to conciliate, as far as might be, Arab antagonism to the National Home, there is nothing in it to prohibit the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State, and Mr. Churchill himself has told us in evidence that no such prohibition was intended."

One of Sir Herbert Samuel's first acts was to establish an Advisory Council of 11 official mem-

bers and 10 unofficial members, the latter to consist of 4 Moslem Arabs, 3 Jews and 3 Christian Arabs.

Some two years later Samuel, still bent on Arab appeasement, despite the backward, vastly illiterate Arab section of Palestine proposed a Legislative Council of 26: the High Commissioner, 10 to be appointed by the Government, 12 elected by the people in the proportion of 8 Moslem Arabs, 2 Jews and 2 Christian Arabs, 1 nominated by the Associated Chambers of Commerce and 2 nominated by the High Commissioner. The Council could not allegedly pass ordinances inconsistent with the Mandate and the High Commissioner retained power of veto. Both the Arab and the Jewish leaders boycotted this proposal: the Arabs as they did not realize their demands of full independence, and the Jews as they would constitute a small minority in the Council. The Jews finally consented to the proposal when Samuel threatened to resign but the Arabs remained adamant against it. The Arabs even refused to consider a plan whereby a committee of elected members of the Council would constitute an Advisory Board on matters of Jewish immigration. The Legislative Council proposal came to naught.

Simultaneously with the boycott by the Arab Executive of Samuel's proposed Legislative Council, it is significant that the Peasants' Party of Palestine consisting of fellahin or Arab peasants, is-

sued a statement expressing a desire to co-operate with the government and disputing the arrogation of power to itself by the Arab Executive as representative of all of Palestine's Arabs. Certainly it had the merit that the Arab Executive was not a democratically elected organ.

Samuel was succeeded in 1925 by Field Marshal Lord Plumer, distinguished British General of World War fame, who ruled Palestine with an iron hand until he was succeeded in 1928. At least no pogroms occurred during his administration.

One of the earliest unjustifiable acts of the British Government from a long-range standpoint was to sever Transjordan from Palestine in 1922 and designate Emir Abdullah, son of King Hussein of the Hedjaz, its ruler. This action was prompted by a threat of Emir Abdullah, backed by a small army, arriving in Transjordan, to drive the French out of Syria and set up an Arab state therein, such as had been established for a brief duration shortly before by his brother, Emir Feisal, before the French drove him out. (England then crowned Feisal King of Iraq.) The English feared that warfare between France and Abdullah, unless Britain stepped into Transjordan, might result in France gaining a foothold in Transjordan before the League of Nations had as yet ratified the Mandate, which would not have well accorded with its anti-Gallic policy in the Middle East. At that time



England was also having its hands full with Egypt and India. And so it sought to appease Abdullah by slicing off Transjordan and giving it to him on a silver platter with strings attached. Transjordan had in all historic times been considered a part of Palestine, being the fertile region east of the Jordan. It now has a nomad, Bedouin population of 300,000 and an area of 30,000 square miles—three times the area of Western Palestine. It has not shown any development since 1922 and its severance from Palestine was grave economic folly. A new clause was added to the mandate shortly before its ratification, enabling the Mandatory “in the territories lying between the Jordan and the *eastern boundary of Palestine* . . . with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations *to postpone or withhold* (italics ours) application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions . . . ” The “local conditions” referred to were the disorders in that territory created by Abdullah, and so immigration to and colonization in Transjordan were to be at least suspended until the turbulence subsided. The Council of the League of Nations, however, consented to the memorandum submitted by Lord Balfour on September 16, 1922, freeing Transjordan from the application of the Jewish National Home clauses of the Palestine mandate, although it still remained within the mandate in so far as its general clauses were concerned. Ab-

dullah, who had at first been appointed ruler for six months only, had his tenure later normalized and his rule was formalized in a treaty with Britain, which included a number of strings of attachment to that country.

The Palestine Government has since been subsidizing the Transjordanian Government. Britain retains control of Transjordan through a British Resident appointed by the High Commissioner of Palestine.

As has been aptly pointed out, "Transjordan henceforward became the only territory in the world to all intents and purposes *Judenrein* (free of Jews)."<sup>1</sup> Jews are barred from Transjordan.

The terms of the Mandate call for the close settlement of Jews on State lands. This remained a dead letter and was honored by the Palestine Government in the breach. The Government flagrantly violated this portion of the Mandate when in 1921, fully aware that the Mandate before the League for ratification had such a clause, since Britain had submitted it to the League in 1920 (although formal action was deferred by the League until 1922 in view of the Syrian, boundaries, and other related matters still unsettled by the Powers), it parcelled out on nominal terms 150,000 dunams of very fertile State land in the plain of Bethshan to

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<sup>1</sup> Ziff, *supra*, p. 117.

Arabs exclusively. The individual allotments were too extensive for the Arabs to cultivate and so one-third of this Arab-allotted land was in turn sold by them at steep profits to Jews. The unearned increment involved was three-fold.

Progress nevertheless occurred during the much criticized term of administration of Sir Herbert Samuel. Menahem Ussishkin, President of the Jewish National Fund, started his first great, contiguous land purchase program in Palestine in the Valley of Jezreel or Esdraelon. Sir Herbert Samuel has described in his Report as High Commissioner the progress he noted during his administration. He says, *inter alia*, as follows: "When I first saw it in 1920, it was a desolation. Four or five small, squalid Arab villages, long distance apart one from another, could be seen on the summits of low hills here and there. For the rest, the country was uninhabited; there was not a house, not a tree. Along a branch of the Hedjaz railway an occasional train stopped at deserted stations. A great part of the soil was in the ownership of absentee Syrian landlords. The River Kishon which flows through the valley, and the many streams which feed it from the hillsides, have been allowed to form a series of swamps and marshes, and as a consequence the country was infested with malaria. Besides public security had been so bad under the former regime that any settled agriculture was almost impossible." He then relates the significant accomplishments of the Jews

in the space of a few brief years in colonization and afforestation, education and hygiene, and concludes: "What five years ago was little better than a wilderness is being transformed before our eyes into a smiling countryside."

And in an article in the *London Observer* for July 1934, Sir Herbert Samuel upon revisiting Palestine, wrote as follows: "You may stand in the Valley of Jezreel and view at a single glance all the varieties of communication and transport. A broad asphalted highway runs down to the coast; along it pass large, well-found motor coaches, occasionally one among them on the journey to or from Damascus or Baghdad. Beside the road is the narrow-gauge railway, dating from pre-War times. The trim iron poles of the telephones run along the valley, and not far away are the pylons of the electric power supply. You may see also the alignment of the low mound that covers the pipe-line which has been constructed to bring the oil of Iraq across the desert—pumped for more than 600 miles, until it passes through the last lengths of underwater pipes direct into the tanks of the ships in the harbor of Haifa. And as I motored one day along the valley, two aeroplanes passed overhead, bringing the High Commissioner, in the course of one of his frequent tours of inspection, to the landing-ground near the shore."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Bentwich, *supra*, p. 29.

## ANOTHER ZIONIST INSTRUMENTALITY— KEREN HAYESOD

The first Zionist Conference after the War, held in London in 1920, founded and set up the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) which was to be a people's fund like the Jewish National Fund, but its spheres of activities were to be immigration, colonization, education, health, industry, etc. In other words, all Zionist activities exclusive of land purchase which remained the province of ~~the Jewish National Fund~~. Large hopes had been pinned on the Keren Hayesod. ~~There was talk of a~~ £25,000,000 subscription to this great undertaking for Jewish resettlement. But in the first two years of its existence only £800,000 were raised. However, the long and continuously sustained activities and the soundness of this fund were responsible for its success in obtaining in 1934 a loan of one half million pounds from Lloyds Bank of London.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> During the 25 years of its existence, this fund has raised nearly \$50,000,000. In addition to establishing agricultural colonies on J.N.F. lands, it has also acquired "national capital" investments in Palestine. Thus, it has a controlling interest of nearly \$4,000,000 in Bitzur, Ltd., which "grants loans for the construction of roads and other public works." It holds an almost one-third interest in Marine Trust, Ltd., which built the Tel Aviv Port. It has investments in the Palestine Electric Corporation, Palestine Potash Company, Huleh Concession, in realty companies owning nearly 45,000 dunams in the immensely strategical heart of the Haifa Bay district, etc., etc.

### THIRD ALIYAH

In 1919 the Third Aliyah or Wave started its trek towards Palestine. Between 1919 and 1924, some 45,000 Jews entered Palestine, most of them Chalutzim—pioneers—fired with a zeal to establish a new social order in Palestine based on collective living and working. Groups of young people came, representing new youth organizations: Hashomer Hazair, Labor Youth groups, General Zionist and Mizrachi youth.

The Pioneers of the Third Aliyah, though not confronted by as many obstacles which glared at the pioneers of the Second Aliyah in their first few years, had nonetheless prodigious obstacles to master. In Nahalal, e.g., the incidence of malaria in the first year of swamp drainage was 65% of the Chalutzim, in the second year, 40%. By 1928 malaria had been conquered in Nahalal. A similar tale can be multiplied a hundredfold in the new colonies which were springing up in Palestine.

Many new Kvutzoth and Moshavim had their origin with the Chalutzim of this Aliyah. Their national devotion to a people's regeneration was to write a new chapter in the annals of man's idealism. A Jewish Commonwealth, rooted in free, independent labor, and abhorring exploitation, was taking root. No Barons—no cheap Arab labor. But self-sacrificing, self-effacing, self-dependent pioneers conquering a new outpost for civilization. (See pp. 180-3 for a description of Kvutzoth and Moshavim.)

## FOURTH ALIYAH

In 1924 the Polish Government forced many Jewish merchants to emigrate by withdrawing from them for itself certain monopoly concessions. These small merchants constituted the bulk of the Fourth Aliyah of 1924-5. A few artisans and manufacturers commingled with this group. 35,000 scrambled into Palestine in 1925, all of whom were admitted because they had sufficient capital and would not become public charges.<sup>1</sup> This led to a sudden spiral urban development and an overexpansion of certain staple small businesses: groceries, street-corner stands, small shops of all categories. A real estate boom was inaugurated—particularly in Tel Aviv.

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<sup>1</sup> Immigration quotas are fixed by the Colonial Office, usually for six month terms. The Jewish Agency for Palestine submits its request, which is always sliced. Immigration quotas and categories have changed from time to time. The first quota and categories were enacted under Samuel in 1920. The quota covered laborers of a fixed number guaranteed by the Jewish Agency that they will not become public charges for one year. Categories of capitalists owning 500 pounds, rabbis and dependents of Palestinian residents were not limited by the quota established. In 1930, the capitalist requirement was raised to 1000 pounds. In 1926, the categories admitted skilled artisans owning 250 pounds. In 1932, any person with 500 pounds could enter who satisfied the government that he would prove to be a financial asset to the community. For a short period before the White Paper of 1939, all categories—capitalist as well as labor—were lumped together into an aggregate quota, and all categories thus became limited.

Speculation was rampant and ran amuck. Prices of foods and articles skyrocketed. But more shops were set up than Palestine could accommodate at that time, more buildings were built than Palestine could use at the time. Keen competition then set in. The result was a collapse of the boom. In 1920 only 8,000 Jews had migrated to Palestine. Palestine was unprepared for this sudden vast increase in 1925. A small number of these immigrants to Palestine migrated from Palestine. The Zionist executive handed out doles to some who were ruined by the economic collapse. This experience was never again to be repeated in Palestine.



## INDUSTRIALIZATION OF PALESTINE

In the meantime, despite a temporary setback, Palestine was being solidly built. Important industries were rising for the first time in Palestine's history. The land of romance was being wedded to a land of finance. The industrialization of the Holy Land is one of the most remarkable phenomena of modern times. The land that once generated sparks of divine prophecy—which has not yet ceased in Israel—to-day generates electricity as well, through Eretz Israel's greatest industrial undertaking, the Palestine Electric Corporation, which has its hydro-electric stations at the confluence of the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers. The guiding genius of this electrification of Palestine was the Russian Jewish engineer, Pinchas Rutenberg, to whom the concession was granted jointly with some British financial interests.

Professor Toynbee in his *Survey of International Affairs*, 1934, remarked that "Mr. Rutenberg's Battle of the Yarmuk was characteristically different in kind from the historical engagement of A.D. 636 (when the Moslem Arab zealots routed the armies of the Byzantine Emperor and started the Islamic Conquest), but it was not inconceivable that it might prove in the end to have had a com-

parably profound effect upon the fortunes of the Middle East."<sup>1</sup>

It was Theodore Herzl who linked electricity with a solution of the Jewish problem. In his Introduction to "Der Judenstaat," he wrote: "Now, I am of the opinion that electric light was not invented for the purpose of illuminating the drawing-rooms of a few snobs, but rather for the purpose of throwing light on some of the dark problems of humanity. One of these problems, and not the least of them, is the Jewish question . . ."

The Dead Sea yields an inexhaustibly rich harvest of potash, bromides — the richest in the world—and other minerals, and has given birth to Palestine's second largest industrial undertaking, the Palestine Potash Ltd. Moses Novomeysky, a Russian-Jewish chemist, was granted the concession for this undertaking.

\* It is interesting to note that a bathing resort, Callia, has grown up near the Dead Sea. It is a health resort alleviating many types of conditions with the aid of the radio-active waters of the Dead Sea. The sunsets in this area are reputed to be the most beauteous on earth.

Other large industrial undertakings in Eretz Israel which were gradually built up on a solid basis, include among many others: "Nesher," the cement factory at Haifa; "Shemen," an oil factory at Haifa; Palestine Salt Co. at Athlit; "Nur," a

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Bentwich, *supra*, p. 27.

match factory at Acre; a silicate factory and knitting mills in Tel Aviv, etc. etc. At and around Haifa there arose over 400 Jewish industrial establishments engaged in all types of modern technical manufacturing.

Mosul oil pipes covering a distance of over 500 miles from Kirkuk, Iraq have a terminus at Haifa, which has become Palestine's leading port since its construction in 1932 and a leading port for the whole Mediterranean basin and the Near East. The oil is conducted to the tankers in the port by submarine pipes.

Haifa has become one of the predominant industrial nodes in the Middle East. Speaking of Haifa and its Bay, Norman Bentwich, former Attorney General of Palestine, Weizmann Professor of International Relations at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and distinguished scholar and author, says:

"Looking from the height of Carmel, whether by day on the city of white stone, the busy harbour and the golden arc of the Bay with half its crescent occupied by industrial enterprises or workers' villages, or whether by night on the sea of illumination in which the powerhouse by the shore shines like a jewel, there can be few scenes at once so lovely and so full of promise of human achievement."<sup>2</sup> The luscious suburb of Mount Carmel rises high above Haifa, and it has both its residential and

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<sup>2</sup> Bentwich, *supra*, p. 101.

commercial centers. It is a beautiful summer resort.

The remarkable growth of industry is readily seen by glancing at the statistics of Tel Aviv's industrial rise. In 1919, Tel Aviv had 24 factories and workshops; in 1926 — 152; in 1931 — 294; in 1933 — 1,511, and in 1935 — 2,200. The increase is almost in geometrical proportions.

In 1936 when the Jews were about 30% of the population in Palestine they represented about 56-58% of the country's participation in industry.<sup>1</sup> Arab industry is restricted in scope, chiefly to soap-making, oil-pressing and the handicrafts. Before the Zionists began coming to Palestine, it had no industry to speak of and worthy of the name. Practically all new industries in Palestine are Jewish.

The chief complaint of Palestine's industrialists has been that under Article 18 of the Mandate, Palestine may not create any tariff barriers in the form of discrimination against member states of the League of Nations who dump their wares into Palestine's markets and receive mighty little of Palestine's goods in return. Palestine's tariffs must be uniform for all League states. Reciprocal trade agreements are thus barred. England has made no effort to remedy this situation by League action.

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<sup>1</sup> To-day (1945) 89% of the capital invested in Palestine's industry and 77% of its labor is Jewish.

At the 29th Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, in 1936, its Secretary, M. Rappard, said in this regard: "Economic equality did not necessarily mean equality of imports . . . it might not be contrary to the principle of economic equality to allow all countries equal imports up to 50 per cent of their own imports from the territory."<sup>1</sup>

"In point of fact a suggestion has been put forward that a system of minimum and maximum tariffs be set up as is already the case under the Syrian mandate. It is argued that in so far as such a system would be applied impartially to all countries it would come within the provisions of Article 18. . . Some ratio would have to be fixed between the imports and exports passing between individual countries and Palestine. If the ratio, for example, were 1:3, a country importing from Palestine at least one-third what she sends to Palestine would find her goods paying the minimum tariff in Palestine. Countries, on the other hand, importing from Palestine less than one-third of what they send to Palestine would find that their goods would have to surmount the maximum tariff."<sup>2</sup> But the Palestine Government has made no effort to remedy this situation.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ernest Main, "Palestine at the Crossroads," George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1937, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Main, *supra*, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> See for later industrial development, pp. 162-3. For agricultural developments, see pp. 175-88.

## POGROMS OF 1929

Between 1921 and 1929 Palestine grew and prospered with the exception of a momentary relapse in 1925-6. The Jewish population in 1929 stood at 175,000. The Arabs were at peace with the Jews. The power of Haj Amin el Husseini was challenged by the moderate Arab clan of the Nashashibis. Rather than become effete, this political intriguer and megalomaniac (who later was to aid the Nazis in their war on Britain and who broadcasted to the Arab world from Berlin) trumped up some false charges that the Jews had designs on the Moslem sacred buildings in the Temple area. Some rumors even had it that the Jews had attacked the Mosque of Omar, Moslem holy temple. Some Arab papers went as far as to print excerpts from the grossly spurious, apochryphal, anti-Semitic "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." The Palestinian authorities made no attempt to stop these inflammatory lies, although requested to by the Zionist authorities. The Zionist leaders assembled in Zurich at the World Zionist Congress in 1929 sent a delegation to London to no avail.

What were the facts surrounding the in-

flammatory Arab rumors of Jewish designs on the Moslem sacred buildings? From time immemorial pious Jews had prayed at the Western Wall (Kotel Ma'arabi) of the Holy Temple, only relic of Israel's ancient House of God. The Mosque of Omar, Moslem holy temple, had risen on the site of the ancient Jewish temple. The whole Temple site has become a Moslem area, but the Jews have had their prescriptive right of worship at the Wailing Wall for a period of time that the memory of man runneth not to the contrary. Their bringing in stools on Yom Kippur, though not part of their prescriptive right, had been always overlooked. But in 1928 the Jews went one step further and erected a paper curtain to separate the men and women worshipers, in accordance with orthodox ritual. The Arabs called in the British police who tactlessly removed the curtain. The Arabs also interfered with Jewish worship by stationing a muezzin on a structure they wilfully built nearby on their outer wall and he made loud noises. They also dumped garbage near the Wall. The curtain incident was seized upon by the Mufti and his followers as a signal for a jihad or Holy War. A Wailing Wall Commission in 1930 set forth what it deemed the respective rights of Jews and Arabs in the Temple area, but by the time of the issuance of this report, the religious issue which had served only as a pretext for a general frontal assault on

the Jews had already been allayed and practically forgotten.

The Arabs could have selected no more propitious moment than August 1929 to start their attacks on the Jews. The High Commissioner, Sir John Chancellor, a weakling, was at the moment in London. The British garrison had been reduced, although a summons to British troops in Egypt would have produced immediate results. The Zionist leaders were assembled in session at the World Zionist Congress in Zurich, Switzerland. Harry Luke, Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government, was Acting High Commissioner. He refused to arm Jews in self-defense though admittedly the government had plenty of arms. It played the alleged part of "neutral"—Luke's own characterization—in the face of wanton murder, rape and pillaging by Arab mobs. It claimed complete surprise, though three weeks before the outbreak the Government had "warned the authorities of the Rothschild Hospital here in Jerusalem to have two hundred beds in readiness for an emergency."<sup>1</sup>

And so, a fanatically sponsored Arab attack with the connivance of the Palestine Government and with police protection, was unloosed on the Jews in August of 1929. Jewish special constables were relieved of duty by the government at this

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre Van Paasen, "The Forgotten Ally," Dial Press, 1943, pp. 167-8.



most crucial moment. Many Jews were disarmed and thus denied the elementary right of every human being to self-defense. A pogrom broke out in Jerusalem on "Black Friday," August 23rd. It spread to Hebron and other communities. In Hebron, home of the Hebron Yeshiva, outpost of Israel's ancient learning and storehouse of Talmudic wisdom, divorced in part from the newer outposts of Zionist achievement where the spade dug with one hand and the gun protected with the other hand—in peaceful Hebron, Arab mobs broke into the Yeshiva and slaughtered in cold blood defenseless rabbis and rabbinic students. These zealots of Husseini and of the "Lord" murdered, raped and pillaged. Their cry was: "Al daula Maana." (The Government is with us.) In the settlements manned by the stalwart youth of the new era the Arabs feared to tread. Their defense, when attacks were undertaken, was heroic and they saved the situation until troops arrived in British warships and planes. The government, however, instead of using force and arresting the Arab marauders arrested those Jews who "dared" defend themselves. If ever a government was on the side of anarchy and disorder it was the Palestine Government of 1929. In the course of one week 132 Jews had been ruthlessly slaughtered and several hundred had been wounded. Property damage sustained was in the hundreds of thousands of pounds. The Arab casualties were 87 killed and several hundred wounded.

It is not to be imagined, however, that all of Arabic Palestine rose up in arms against the Jews. Quite to the contrary, many Arab laborers and peasants proffered to Jews of neighboring settlements their assurances of good-will. Arab families protected Jews. Arab officials and police extended protection to Jews—at the risk of their lives.

The government, however, was most lenient in its punishment of those Arabs whom it saw fit to convict for murder, looting or rape. It thereby encouraged a repetition of these acts. On the other hand, its treatment of Jews apprehended for the possession of arms was harsh, contemptible and inconsiderate.

## SHAW COMMISSION, SIMPSON REPORT AND PASSFIELD WHITE PAPER

The Shaw Commission which investigated the 1929 disorders on behalf of the mandatory government describes them in its report as a "vicious attack by Arabs on Jews accompanied by a wanton destruction of Jewish property." Sir John Chancellor upon his return from England expressed similar denunciation. The report, however, absolves the Arabs of any premeditation in their wanton attacks. It goes on to state that the Jews had exceeded the economic absorptive capacity of the country and further that a "landless and discontented class of Arabs were being created." This was inferred to be a contributory factor in the Arab riots. A satiric paraphrase of the viewpoint of this Commission, so utterly discredited by the subsequent great expansion of Palestine, has been that one could with difficulty swing a chicken freely over his head—so jammed and crowded had Palestine become. One Commission member, Harry Snell (now Lord Snell), vigorously dissented from the majority report. The Permanent Mandates

Commission of the League of Nations rejected this report and castigated Britain, as did the Council of the League.

Adopting a suggestion of the Shaw Commission, the British Government dispatched to Palestine in 1930 Sir John Hope Simpson, a colonization expert. He reported that with the most intensive agricultural development of Palestine—and industrial expansion was largely a forlorn hope for that country—an additional maximum of 20,000 families could be accommodated. His figures for the cultivable land in Palestine are 100% less than those issued previously by the Director of Land of the Palestine Government to the Shaw Commission. Such was the “expert” opinion of the British Government’s specialist.<sup>1</sup>

On the heels of these prejudicial and prejudiced reports, followed the ignominious and restrictive Passfield White Paper of October 1930. This paper has since been referred to as the Passfield Black Paper. Lord Passfield, Colonial Secretary, was no friend of a Jewish Palestine. His White Paper threatened to freeze and foreclose the Jewish National Home in 1930 by barring any further land transfers to Jews, by stringently restricting immigration, by basing Palestine’s economic absorptive

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<sup>1</sup> Since the publication of this report, the Jews have increased by about 400,000 and the Arabs by about 200,000. Ten years later Simpson changed his opinion, which he fairly described at the time in his report as an “opinion” based on a two months’ visit only.

capacity on Arab as well as Jewish unemployment, etc. The entire tone of the White Paper was hostile to Zionism. It did not even refer to Simpson's estimate of Palestine's absorptive capacity of another 20,000 Jewish families nor to a recommendation of his, that laborers on new Jewish enterprises be exempted from immigration restrictions. It was based on Simpson's fundamental error that the present average Arab holding was to be considered at the basis in arriving at a conclusion as to the absorptive capacity of Palestine. It disregarded intensive cultivation, irrigation—in brief, it took no account of the existence of science and progress; of the fact that the average Jewish land holding has been reduced from the Arabs' 240 dunams (60 acres) to about 20 dunams (5 acres), thanks to the application by Jews of modern scientific methods.

The White Paper was condemned by leaders of public opinion in Parliament and in the press—such as by the Conservative leaders Stanley Baldwin, Austen Chamberlain and Leopold Amery; by the famous South African statesman Jan Smuts; by Lord Hailsham and Sir John Simon; by Lloyd George, Harry Snell, Joseph Kenworthy and Sir Herbert Samuel. General British opinion excoriated this breach of faith with a plighted word.

Immediately following the publication of the Passfield White Paper, Dr. Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, and Mr. Felix Warburg and Lord Melchett, Co-Chairmen of the

Council of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, resigned from their respective positions. Their resignations connoted to Britain and to the civilized world that the Jews had found it impossible any longer to co-operate with the British Government with respect to the execution of its mandatory trust in Palestine. It was equivalent to a vote of lack of confidence in the integrity and faith of the British Government. It aroused a stir in all international circles and in all capitals. The Jew was no longer pleading servilely and begging cringingly for his rights. He was asserting his rights and stating his demands with dignity and with force. Lord Melchett in his letter states: "The grotesque travesty of the purpose of the Mandate given in the Government Paper can only be described as an insult to the intelligence of Jewry and a deliberate affront to the Mandates Commission."

It is worthy of note that one of the reasons for the British Colonial Office's antipathy to Zionism is that the British Colonial personnel is accustomed to deal with ignorant, servile natives in the British colonies. Here in Palestine they have to contend with a cultured, equal, insisting-on-his-rights type of "colonial"—the renascent Jew. The British are unaccustomed to such a "revolutionary" colonial. They regard this variant accordingly as surly. And, unfortunately, a number of British Colonial officials have been outspokenly anti-Semitic, both in the Home Office and on the spot in Palestine.

The transfer of the administration of Palestine in 1921 from the jurisdiction of the Foreign Office to that of the Colonial Office was consequently a grave blow to the cause of a Jewish National Home. The anti-Zionist bias of many in the highest stations in Palestine, entrusted to establish a Jewish National Home, has been openly admitted by a number of these officials in their writings, has been commented upon by distinguished visitors to Palestine, and is an irony of uncommon significance because the fate of a tragic people is bound up with it.

## JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

Before we proceed with the dénouement of the iniquitous Passfield White Paper, we wish to explain the reference to the Jewish Agency for Palestine in the preceding paragraph but one. The Mandate over Palestine designates the Jewish body to co-operate with the British Government in fulfilling the terms of the mandate as "the Jewish Agency for Palestine." Until 1929 this had been the sole task of the World Zionist Organization. The Mandate had recognized the Zionist Organization as the Jewish Agency for Palestine until such time as it broadened its base by co-opting other Jews interested in the reconstruction of Palestine. For several years prior to 1929, Dr. Weizmann had sought the enlargement of the Jewish Agency by co-opting outstanding non-Zionist leaders into its leadership on a 50-50 basis of representation and control. He sought thereby to strengthen its influence vis-à-vis the British Government. The non-Zionist members were primarily interested in the economic development of the country, which of course required proper political guarantees, but they were unconcerned with the eventual political norm or form which Palestine would assume. On this basis co-operation between them and the Zionists was possi-



ble. And so in August 1929 at Zurich, Switzerland, immediately following the closing of the World Zionist Congress sessions, the historic inauguration meeting of the Jewish Agency occurred. Dr. Weizmann led the Zionists; the eminent American constitutional lawyer and great Jew, Louis Marshall, led the non-Zionists.<sup>1</sup> In the presence of some of the world's most outstanding Jews—an unusual galaxy—the pact between the Zionists and non-Zionists was ratified and the enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine saw the light of day.

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Weizmann as President of the World Zionist Organization automatically became President of the Jewish Agency. The Agency is composed of a Council, an Executive and an Administrative Committee. The Council meets biennially following the World Zionist Congress sessions.

## RETREAT FROM PASSFIELD WHITE PAPER

Now, the British Government retreated from its extremist position set forth in the Passfield White Paper after the resignation of Weizmann, Warburg and Melchett. In February 1931 Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, representing a Labor Government which was a weak minority party in the saddle, addressed a letter to Dr. Weizmann in which he lifted the ban on land transfers, promised again the settlement of Jews on state lands, reinstated the economic absorptive capacity as the criterion for Jewish immigration and promised the greater employment of Jews on public works, taking into consideration their great contribution to the revenue of the government. It redefined "landless Arabs" for whom resettlement was to be provided by the government to refer only to those fellahin who had actually lost their foothold in the land and not to include as had been done by the Shaw Commission, Arabs who were continuously streaming and migrating to Palestine from neighboring countries. It also granted the rightful Jewish contention that Jewish immigration and the need for new Jewish enterprises in the country

should not be made dependent upon the absence of any Arab unemployment in the country. This letter re-established a *modus operandi* between the Jewish Agency and the British Government.

The Shaw Commission had referred to a "landless and discontented class of Arabs." The British Government has settled the 347 Arabs, sifted from a larger number of spurious claimants, who responded to the Government's call to resettle Arabs made landless as a result of Jewish land purchases. These Arabs had, in addition, been given large grants, either in money or in other land, by the Jewish purchasers without any directive law to that effect. Although the mandate calls for a Jewish national home, its acquisition by the Jews—unlike any other historic settlement—is being paid for dearly, inch by inch. The Jew is buying the soil which was promised him as a national home by paying steep prices to Arab *effendis*, the rich Arab landlords and feudal masters, many of whom are absentee landlords and denizens of the luxurious night clubs in Paris and Cairo.<sup>1</sup> Those Arabs—who did not respond to the government's call for resettlement and its appropriation of £250,000 therefor—have improved their economic lot in urban undertakings, far from their former malaria-infested farms, and have rejected the Government's resettlement lands. They number 297.

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<sup>1</sup> Much of their land is surplus land or fallow land.

Thousands of Arabs and Bedouins have streamed into Palestine from Transjordanian without passports. They have been attracted by the prospects offered them as a result of Jewish genius on this new oasis in a vast Arab desert—desert by reason of human neglect. These “Hauranis”—the name of the Arab immigrants into Palestine—compete on the labor market with native Arabs and have thus aroused their ire. Britain, although later slamming shut the gates of Palestine to hounded Jews and ferreting out illegal Jewish immigrants, has done nothing to prevent an Arab influx from Transjordanian and other neighboring Arab countries into Palestine. Thus, the answer to the question: Is there a starving and discontented class of Arabs?, must be answered in the affirmative insofar as Arabs outside of Palestine are concerned, and in the negative insofar as Palestinian Arabs are concerned. As a matter of fact, many Arab leaders in Transjordanian believe in Jewish immigration into Transjordanian as a necessity for the welfare of that country. But British “wisdom” bars it. Although Transjordanian is three times the size of western Palestine, its population is about one-fifth that of the latter.

As Dr. Paul L. Hanna has so well stated relative to the Arab claim of landlessness: “In making such charges (of their plight—J.M.R.) they (the Arabs—J.M.R.) ignored the fact that much of the land purchased by Jews had been rendered cultivable

only through expensive drainage or irrigation projects and the further fact that the natural increase of the native population and its inability through lack of education and finances to adopt methods of intensive farming were largely responsible for such overcrowding as existed."<sup>1</sup>

The primitive Arab village consists of clay huts without any ventilation. Cattle are part of the household. Dung lies strewn about with ancestral dung of the generations. Contrast this with the modern brick or stone homes with tiled roofs and modern sanitation of Arab homes in the vicinity of Jewish settlements!

As a matter of fact—speaking of the land question—a land racket has been allowed to take root by the government in Palestine. This is only one of the many obstacles which could be cited that it has deliberately fostered to hinder and sabotage Jewish development and progress. An ordinance in 1933 prohibiting the eviction of land tenants unless other land or an occupation was provided for them has often been extended to cover Bedouin squatters who grazed the land rent-free.

Mr. Ussishkin has very cogently stated the irrationale and perverseness of this whole procedure. He said:

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<sup>1</sup> Hanna, *supra*, p. 112.

"In every civilized country it is accepted as a general rule that when an individual has a claim on land belonging to someone else, he has to go to court; and the police meantime protect the property rights of the party in possession of the legal deeds. Not so in Palestine. Here a band of Bedouins may at any time occupy a parcel of Jewish land not yet under cultivation, claiming that it was once tilled by members of their tribe. Instead of ejecting the Bedouins from the land and referring them to courts for eventual adjustment, the district officer frequently decides that the invaders must be permitted to stay on the disputed ground until the court shall pass upon the claim. At best he orders that neither party shall cultivate the disputed land until the final court verdict. And the upshot of it is that even after we have won in the courts, which usually takes several years, the Government, instead of evicting the invader, comes to us with proposals of mediation: as rich people, we should give those poor fellows some compensation before they relinquish the land that never belonged to them. Compensation for what? For using our land for several years without rent and without the slightest legal right, . .

"Incidentally," concluded Mr. Ussishkin, "this is not the general practice, impartially applied to all land disputes without exception. In not one single

case has an Arab landowner been pestered in such a way. Bedouins who would so intrude on an Arab parcel of land would be ejected by the police without further ado. The whole business is a specific anti-Jewish practice—make no mistake about that.”<sup>1</sup>

The result has frequently been dual payments: one to the landowner and the other, a steep blackmail to the “squatter” to avoid legal complications. The sardonic feature of this situation is that where a sale of the land is not involved—and the vast majority of purchasers are Jews—the tenant is not protected by any legislation or decree from eviction.

Legislation similar to the 1933 ordinance has never been introduced in Britain nor in any of its dominions. Why is Palestine, which has so much archaic legislation, singled out for this piece of legislation, advanced on its face? Why does the government at the same time hold on to a retrogressive system of land taxation not practised in any advanced country whereby fallow land—owned by the effendis—is tax-free and thus effecting encouragement to the effendis not to cultivate it but to hold on to it for higher speculative prices?

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<sup>1</sup> Abraham Revusky, “Jews in Palestine,” Vanguard Press, 1936, pp. 298-9.

## FIFTH ALIYAH

The Fifth Aliyah or Wave of immigration to Palestine started in 1933. Its bulk was made up of Jews from Poland and Germany, who were fleeing discrimination and economic strangulation in the former country and merciless persecution in the latter after Hitler's rise to power. In 1933, 30,000 came; in 1934—42,000; in 1935—60,000, the largest number to be absorbed in any single year. These numbers were most eagerly absorbed into the expansive economy of Palestine which now craved for larger numbers. Some of these Jews brought financial resources or remnants thereof with them. But what is of greater importance, most of them brought human resources with them—ingenuity, initiative, skill and even genius.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See "Germans in Palestine," p. 132. See also pp. 133, 162-3.



## YOUTH ALIYAH

The Youth Aliyah, representing the youngsters of Germany particularly and of other lands as well, and a pet project of Hadassah, is one of the most constructive rescue features of modern Palestine. It salvaged the lives of thousands of orphaned children and children sent forward by parents who were forced to remain behind. It integrated these children, mostly of the middle and white-collar class, into the new order of life in Palestine where manual labor of planting, of handicrafts and of the machine was sanctified.

At the colony of Ben Shemen—for example—these youngsters receive training divided into two halves: one-half day at school and the other half on the farm and in all the manual arts: sewing, cooking, carpentry, etc. These children, many of whom in Europe would have become doctors, dentists, lawyers and the like, have in Palestine learned to enjoy labor as endowed with no inferior social status—rather as of an equal caste. These children have their own Council, training them in the ways of democracy. They have their own “Court.”

“No other land in the World, however liberal, friendly or understanding, could have done for the young wanderers what Palestine did to make them dignified, creative Jews.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Maurice Samuel, “Harvest in the Desert,” Jewish Publication Society, 1944, p. 243.

## GERMANS IN PALESTINE

The German wave to Palestine deposited on its alluvial soils men of international cultural stature, such as Arnold Zweig, the man of letters, Professor Bernard Zondek, co-founder of the Zondek-Aschem test for pregnancy, Erich Mendelsohn, architect, Professor Martin Buber, philosopher, Professor Adolf Fraenkel, mathematician, Professor Halberstaedter, radiologist, etc. etc.

German Jewry had its extremes of Reform and of Orthodoxy more accentuated than in other countries. Some feared that assimilated German Jews in Palestine would not "assimilate" to the new dispensation in Zion. Some German Jews felt that process arduous at first. But Palestine has acted as the great leveler in creating a unified Jewish spirit among Jews of diversified origins: Russian, Polish, Roumanian, German, etc. The German Jew too has become an integral part of the creative, national spirit in Palestine. He is at home in the true Zion of Jewry.

A remarkable transformation has taken place. Former professors have been transmuted into chicken farmers. German professionals—doctors, dentists, lawyers, scholars—have organized Ramoth ha-Shovim, near Tel Aviv, as a colony of poultry breeders.

## AN EXPANSIVE ECONOMY

The expansive economy of Palestine was such from 1930 to 1937 that the universal economic depression had by-passed Palestine. A quarter of a million Jews immigrated to Palestine during this period and Jewish capital investments amounted to £25,000,000. Jews contributed approximately 70% of the Palestine Government's budget. The government as a result of Jewish activity and productivity had on hand in 1937 a surplus of over thirty-three millions of dollars.

Before World War I, the Turkish Administration had given a drainage concession for the Huleh region in northernmost Galilee to Syrian Arabs. This concession remained "fallow," so to speak. This marsh area promises to be one of the topmost productive areas in the whole country. The concession was transferred at a steep price to the Keren Kayemeth (Jewish National Fund) and the ICA with the reservation that one-third of the reclaimed area is to remain Arab. Here, as in so many other parts of the country, Jewish penetration means the expansion of the Arab economy and provides opportunities for Jewish-Arab co-operation to their mutual advantage.

During this period of an expansive economy, the government—in 1934—extended local municipal self-government in the hope that through mixed Jewish-Arab collaboration in the municipalities, it might eventually be able to create a national legislative council. This project was not very successful. “The ignorance and apathy of much of the Arab electorate made vigorous institutions of self-government impossible in many areas.”<sup>1</sup> Zionists opposed a national legislative council projected by the High Commissioner in 1935 for consideration, as it would provide the Arabs with an official sounding-board for their opposition to Zionism. The Arabs at this juncture favored it for that very reason, thus reversing their previous stand under Sir Herbert Samuel. Even with the adoption and functioning of a Legislative Council, the High Commissioner would have retained the power of the veto. Parliament almost unanimously sided with the Zionists on this issue in its conviction that Arab-Jewish relations at this time would be irritated by the Council rather than alleviated.

General Sir Arthur Wauchope, successor to Chancellor, High Commissioner during this expansive period, also formed several joint councils of Jews and Arabs for consultation on specific

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<sup>1</sup> Hanna, *supra*, p. 115.

problems. He made a little headway but the spread of world anarchy which soon engulfed the Arabs in the Nazi-Fascist vortex and the large increase of immigration of Jews fleeing Nazi Europe and migrating to Palestine soon dashed all hopes of further Arab-Jewish co-operation.

## OUTBREAKS OF 1936-8

The disturbances which broke out by the murder of 10 Jews in Jaffa in 1936 and which lasted intermittently for a period of two years, were Nazi- and Italian Fascist-financed. Mussolini openly proclaimed Jerusalem as within the orbit of power of the new Roman Empire he was engaged in constructing. His Arabic-speaking broadcasting station at Bari incited to uprising in Palestine. Hitler was bent on the extermination of the Jew and the disruption of the British Empire. This was part of the general frontal assault upon civilization starting with Japan's conquest of Manchukuo in 1931 and the Fascist dress rehearsal in Spain in 1936.

The Nazi- and Italian-financed Arab assassins murdered, raped and pillaged. Arab highwaymen held up automobiles and trucks, robbed and killed their passengers. But their murderous hand was directed not only against the Jew but also against the British and against Arabs and Arab clans who were opposed to this reign of terror. And so it engendered fratricide in Palestine: bloodthirsty Arabs striking down in cold blood peaceful Arabs who desired to live in peace with the Jews. The Jews as a rule met this reign of terror with "Havlagah"—self-re-

straint, with very few exceptions on the part of the Revisionists or extreme Zionists. Jews were, as the disturbances rolled on, enrolled as supernumeraries, known as *Gaffirim*, in the Palestine police force and their heroic acts of self-defense are an epic in themselves. But they refused to be drawn into indiscriminate retaliation and vengeful bloodshed. Instead, Jews laid the foundations of many new colonies, erecting the essential structures which they transported in lorries—stockades, huts, barracks, and watchtowers—in the course of one night. Their work was one of construction, not of destruction.

The Palestine Government permitted Arab band outrages and snipings to go on for a period of over two years. The Government could have exerted an iron hand and suppressed these maraudings and murders if it had so desired. The Palestinian Arabs were also encouraged in their extremist tactics by strikes in Egypt and Iraq which led to satisfactory negotiations by the rebels with the governments in those countries.

The proof of the matter is that the Government continued friendly negotiations with the Arab Higher Committee—the Arab organ under the presidency of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and representing the Arab extremists vis-à-vis the government—for almost two years after the outbreaks had started, before it arrested and exiled the members of the Arab Higher Committee to the Seychelles and executed others found in illegal possession

of arms. The members of the Arab Higher Committee were the Nazi-financed agents who directed the outbreaks and were also responsible for a six months' strike against the Government by Arab business and labor in 1936 aimed at an abrogation of the Balfour Declaration—which strike caused grave economic loss to many Arabs. They also sponsored a civil disobedience threat in the form of non-payment of taxes. The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, however, sought refuge in the Mosque of Omar and then managed to escape to the Lebanon and from there later to Berlin where he placed himself in the employ of the Nazis to propagandize the Arabic world in the "holy" cause of Nazism.

Further proof of the matter—of England's laxness—is that when the Government after several years of disorders, finally decided to take active measures, it assumed stern control of the situation, increased its garrison force, and stemmed out disorder from the country. This was on the eve of the outbreak of World War II. Although Wauchope was High Commissioner at the time and he was friendly to the Zionist cause, his policy of trusting to an eventual Arab-Jewish collaboration, was a fatuous will of the wisp in the face of Arab assassinations of many Jews during this two year period, in the face of their assassination of peaceful Arabs, and in the face of huge destruction to property of all sorts, including trees and vegetation. It aided and abetted Arab intransigence and encouraged



violence for the future. In this respect his policy was no better than the policies of the Colonial Office and was perhaps dictated by it.

Despite all the disturbances in Palestine at intervals from 1920 to 1938, Palestine was more peaceful than many neighboring countries. It is not to be imagined that all Palestine was seething as a hotbed of unrest. As a matter of fact, one insurrection in Iraq in 1920 resulted in the loss of human lives seven times the number sacrificed in Palestine during the eighteen years aforementioned. Jewish heroism and Jewish self-defense played their rôle in mitigating the losses in Palestine.

## THE PEEL COMMISSION

But even prior to a complete stemming out of disorder from Palestine, Britain in 1937 had sent the Peel Investigating Commission, headed by Lord Peel, formerly Secretary of State for India, to Palestine. They waited for a somewhat quieter atmosphere before sailing. They did not sail until the Arab leaders had called off, after the arrival of a new army division and after lengthy negotiations, a half year's strike against the government, accompanied as it was by violence. At first, the Arab leaders refused to testify before the Commission in view of the Government's approval of a limited Jewish immigration schedule for the ensuing period. They consented to testify only as the Commission was getting ready to depart from the country. The premises and conclusions of this Commission are at open loggerheads. Among its premises appear the following laudatory remarks about the Jews and about their accomplishments in Palestine:

" . . . the gift of Hebraism in ancient Palestine to the modern world must rank with the gifts of ancient Greece and Rome. Christians, moreover, cannot forget that Jesus was a Jew who lived on Jewish soil and founded His gospel on a basis of Jewish life and thought . . . If the brutality of this mediaeval persecution is astonishing to most mod-

ern minds, still more astonishing, perhaps, is the fact that the Jews survived it.

"... it is evident that in the British world (and much the same could be said of France) the Jews had attained within the last half-century a pre-eminence out of all proportion to their numbers.<sup>1</sup>

"... It is difficult to detect any deterioration in the economic position of the Arab upper class. Landowners have sold substantial pieces of land at a figure far above the price it would have fetched before the war . . . In recent transactions mainly Palestinian Arabs have been concerned, and these transactions have been considerable . . . Partly, no doubt, as the result of land sales the effendi class has been able to make substantial investments of capital . . . At least six times more Arab-owned land is now planted with citrus than in 1920 . . . some of the capital has been directed to building houses for lease or sale to industrial enterprise . . . In the light of these facts we have no doubt that many Arab landowners have benefitted financially from Jewish immigration . . . A member of the Higher Arab Committee admitted to us that 'nowhere in the world were such uneconomic landprices paid as by Jews in Palestine.'

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<sup>1</sup> Although Jews constitute but one per cent of the population of the Western World, they have contributed 9% of the Nobel Prize Winners and if you add half-Jews, the percentage rises to 12. (Cecil Roth, "Jewish Contributions to Civilization," Harpers, 1940, p. 199.)

" . . . The general beneficent effect of Jewish immigration on Arab welfare is illustrated by the fact that the increase in Arab population is most marked in urban areas affected by Jewish development . . . We are also of the opinion that up till now the Arab cultivator has benefitted on the whole from the work of the British administration and from the presence of the Jews in the country. Wages have gone up; the standard of living has improved.

" . . . The reclamation and anti-malaria work undertaken in Jewish colonies have benefitted all Arabs in the neighborhood. Institutions founded with Jewish funds primarily to serve the National Home have also served the Arab population. . . . The Arab charge that the Jews have obtained too large a proportion of good land cannot be maintained. Much of the land now carrying orange groves was sand dunes or swamps and uncultivated when it was purchased . . . "

Yet despite the favorable pro-Zionist tenor of the premises set forth by the Peel Commission, its conclusion was diametrically the opposite. Its conclusion was the voice of its British master who could not dictate the body of and the findings in the report but who had the power to dictate the conclusions. The Commission concluded that despite everything, the Mandate was unworkable. This has been Britain's traditional policy of straddling the fence. It has sent one Investigatory Com-

mission after another to the country. It has followed its traditional policy of "Divide and Rule." It has sought to divide Jew and Arab in Palestine and thereby impress the world with the need of a permanent British administration in the country. Thus it has sought to whittle down Jewish rights in Palestine.

I do not deny Britain's difficulties in Palestine. I do not wish to be thought of as glossing over them completely. But if Britain felt that the Mandate was not workable, it should have so informed the League of Nations. It had accepted a trust and had failed to execute its terms. "It is conceivable that a firm and consistent fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration might have put down Arab opposition in Palestine while the movement was still not fully organized and the fellahin were apathetic. It might then have been possible to create a predominantly Jewish nation having a relatively contented minority of Arab peasants whose politically inclined brethren would have sought an outlet for their activities in the surrounding countries. Such a state would have been bound alike by ties of gratitude and self-interest to Great Britain, and would have provided the empire with a bulwark in the Near East."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hanna, *supra*, p. 160.

## PARTITION SCHEME

The Peel Commission proposed the partition of Palestine into three Zones: a Jewish state, an Arab state, and a British mandate—the latter covering permanently Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Lydda and Ramleh, and the strip from Jerusalem to the sea at Jaffa and covering temporarily Haifa, Acre, Tiberias and Safed, later to be incorporated into the Jewish State. It meant further whittling down of Jewish rights. It would have excluded from the domain of the Jewish State, Jerusalem—the Old and the New Cities—and all the Zionist agencies in Jerusalem, including the Hebrew University. It would have excluded from the Jewish State the hydroelectric station at the Jordan and Yarmuk conjuncture and the Dead Sea extraction plants. The Jewish State would extend to all of Palestine north of Beisan and to the coastal region north of a point midway between Jaffa and Gaza. The Arab state would cover the balance of Palestine and all of Transjordan. The scheme provided for minority guarantees, military alliances with Great Britain and transfers of some populations from one state into the other. The British Exchequer and the Jewish State were to present to the Arab state an outright grant of £2,000,000 and a subsidy respectively to get the latter off on a working basis!

The Arab leaders announced their opposition even to this proposal. The Zionist Executive rejected the proposal. But the majority report of the World Zionist Congress meeting at Zurich turned down the scheme of partition within the framework of the areas of partitioning suggested by the Peel Commission, but authorized negotiations with the Mandatory Government over new and more equitably partitioned areas for the proposed Jewish state. The Jewish Agency, after much discussion and opposition, decided to follow suit, but requested Britain to convoke an Arab-Jewish conference to work out a *modus operandi* within the framework of the Mandate. The British Parliament and the League of Nations were very lukewarm to the scheme. They did not oppose, however, an Investigatory Commission to Palestine. The Mandates Commission prefaced its consent with a denunciation of Britain in that this impasse might not have occurred had Britain adopted a firmer policy in Palestine.

In 1938 the Jewish Agency rejected the report of the Woodhead Partition Commission sent to Palestine that year (and which submitted a majority and two minority reports), according to the majority terms of which large Jewish areas of colonization would have been excluded from the Jewish state and would have frozen the latter from the one-fifth originally suggested by the Peel Commission to less than one-twentieth of *cis-Jordan* (i.e.

Western Palestine). The Commission stated that whereas a Jewish State could be economically self-sufficient, an Arab State deprived of Jewish regions could not, and the Arab state would require annual subsidies. Both states, in addition, would be limited in their economic development. And frontiers would be lacking between the states. This Commission frankly showed no heart for the Partition Scheme.

A fresh outbreak of Arab terrorism followed the announcement of the Partition Scheme. L. Y. Andrews, District Commissioner for Galilee, and his police escort were struck down in Nazareth. It was at this point—and not before, though much violence preceded this assassination—that Britain became incensed at the direct assault upon its dignity and it ordered the arrest and deportation of the Grand Mufti and his cohorts. Violence continued even after these arrests and deportations. The British Government shortly thereafter declared the proposed independent Arab and Jewish states by reason of “the political, administrative and financial difficulties involved” to be “impracticable.”



## A "PEACE" CONFERENCE

On February 6, 1939, the eve of World War II, Britain summoned an appeasement congress of intransigent Arab notables—not restricted to Palestinians but from all Arab countries—and Zionist leaders. The non-Palestinian Arabs had no juridical standing on the Palestine issue, yet they were invited. The sessions had to be duplicated since the Arabs refused to sit jointly with the Jewish representatives lest thereby they grant some recognition to Zionist claims on Palestine. This conference, allegedly convoked as a peace conference to ferret out a modus vivendi in Palestine, was in reality intended to hold out the olive branch to the hostile and anti-democratic Arab world on the eve of Britain's entry into the impending and inescapable war. The Arabs well knew it and their attitude was as strong as Great Britain's was weak. Lord Halifax on behalf of the British Government, publicly declared at this "peace" conference that there are times when the higher demands of justice must give way to "political expediency." This unilateral "peace" conference was, as expected, a fiasco insofar as its announced purpose was concerned. The outline of

the forthcoming White Paper of 1939 presented by Britain at this Conference was rejected by the Jews and Arabs alike: by Jews because of its abrogation of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate; by Arabs because it did not satisfy their demands for complete independence. Britain then announced that if both sides would not agree to its proposals, it would force them to.

## WHITE PAPER OF 1939

On May 17, 1939, the British Government issued the MacDonald White Paper. This was one of the most high-handed and clearest abrogations of a solemn pledge that the world had ever seen. Britain, a trustee in Palestine, sought unilaterally to breach its trust and violate the terms of its hypothecation. It declared the Jewish National Home in Palestine as already consummated — a reality. It froze Jewish immigration into Palestine when it declared that after the entry of another 75,000 Jews in the course of the following five years as a concession (sic!) to the unparalleled Jewish tragedy in Europe, further Jewish immigration would be dependent upon the consent (sic!) of the Arabs in Palestine. It restricted Jewish colonization to certain zones, forbade it in others and permitted it in still other areas only by express governmental authorization—thus creating a pale of settlement in the Jewish National Home. It also promised the creation of such conditions as will permit an Arab (!) state in alliance with Britain to arise after the lapse of ten years provided there was established in the meantime “such relations between the Arabs and the Jews as would make

good government possible." The question of a Jewish state was thus forcibly removed from the agenda. The British Government thus proposed to freeze the Jewish population at 40% of the Palestinian total (600,000 Jews—1,000,000 Arabs) and create one more Jewish ghetto in the heart of the promised national home.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine acted forthright and post-dispatch in its denunciation of this breach. It denounced this Jewish Munich of the Chamberlain Government as a denial to the Jewish people of their "right to reconstitute their national home in their ancestral country." Further: . . . "the Jewish people regard this breach of faith as a surrender to Arab terrorism . . . it is a policy in which the Jewish people will not acquiesce."

A lively debate ensued in the British Parliament. The opposition was vigorous. Winston Churchill in one of his most ringing speeches denounced the White Paper as "a plain breach of a solemn obligation," a "petition in moral and physical bankruptcy," "sacrifice of our declared purpose," etc. etc. He claimed that it was not only a breach of faith with Palestine Jewry but with Jewry the world over who, on the basis of an international covenant, proceeded to expend their energies and moneys on the Zionist venture and who rendered "important help in the War." In like vein spoke Leopold Amery, formerly Colonial Secretary, Sir Archibald Sinclair, Sir Stafford Cripps,

Tom Williams, Noel Baker, Herbert Morrison and others. Thus, Mr. Morrison said, *inter alia*: "Knowing that most of the trouble in Palestine has been created, not by the masses of the Arab people at all, but through a minority of certain classes of the Arabs, probably mostly by the agents of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini; knowing that this was so, and it began in the days when the Prime Minister had a particular friendship with Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini—knowing that this trouble was largely the creation of foreign intervention and the activities of foreign agents, the Government were nevertheless not aware, in the early days, of these difficulties . . . We regard this White Paper and the policy in it as a cynical breach of pledges given to the Jews and the world, including America. This policy will do us no good in the U.S.A."

The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations in June 1939 after extended hearings, including a defense of the White Paper by Colonial Minister Malcolm MacDonald, a son of the former Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, denounced the White Paper as contrary to the explicit terms of the Mandate. The Mandates Commission stated: "... the policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the mandatory power and the Council, the commission had always placed upon the Palestine Mandate." Under Article 27 of the Mandate "the consent of the Council of the League

of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate." The outbreak of war, however, prevented consideration by the League Council.

In the miasmatic Munich atmosphere of the day and in the corresponding decrease of prestige enjoyed by the League, England ignored the voice of humanity embodied in the League. Prime Minister Nevil Chamberlain, (who, incidentally, was a son of Joseph Chamberlain of Herzl's days) with war clouds hovering over Britain, told the House that he would consider a vote on the White Paper issue a question of confidence in the government. Despite the harshness and injustice of this demand, the House voted on July 20, 1939 by a vote of 268 to 181, to sustain the White Paper and thus prevent a change of government on a peripheral matter not involving the war on the eve of an international crisis. 145 members of the Government party abstained from voting, thus clearly indicating a motive not to embarrass the government during a grave international crisis. Although a numerical victory for the government, the size of the opposition meant a moral defeat for it.

An enforced peace due to war conditions has prevailed in Palestine since September 1939. In 1938 Sir Harold McMichael became High Commissioner. In 1943 he was succeeded by Field Marshal Viscount Gore.

## LEGISLATIVE INTENT OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Some of the difficulty attending the British administration of the Mandate is a result of the ambiguity inherent in the Balfour Declaration, which is not very specific as to its objective. It refers to the establishment "*in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people.*" (Italics ours).

The British Government had intended issuing the Balfour Declaration one half year prior to November 2nd, 1917. But its projected issuance aroused a storm of violent opposition on the part of a section of very influential British Jewry of assimilationist tendencies—men of the calibre of Claude Montefiore and Sir Edwin Montague, Secretary of State for India. They feared that the undivided loyalty of the Jews to the countries of their domicile might be questioned. They feared the putative issue of double loyalty. (This is a familiar ringing echo these days among assimilated Jews). And the final wording of the Balfour Declaration was a toning-down to appease these opponents. The wording as originally submitted by the Zionist Political Committee read as follows: "the reconstruction of *Palestine as the National Home*

of the Jewish people.” (Italics ours.) Although more explicit than the final form of the Balfour Declaration, as it more pointedly refers to all of Palestine as the only Jewish National Home, this too could have been interpreted by His Majesty’s Government to suit its whims. It is a simple matter to make words the football of politics.

What does “a national home” mean? Does it mean an independent state? If not, does it mean the only national home of the Jewish people? Or one national home among others? And what does “a national home in Palestine” denote? Does it mean that all of Palestine is to constitute a national Jewish home, or that a national Jewish home shall be constituted and set up in Palestine, i.e., a part of Palestine, as is the implicit contention of the White Paper of 1939?

When a statute is ambiguous, lawyers are wont to say: Let us search the record. Let us search for the legislative intent. Let us examine the Legislative debate preceding the statutory enactment and see if we can determine thereby what the legislature intended in passing the particular act. So, too, in seeking to interpret the meaning of the British Government in its usage of the ambiguous words “a national home,” we can have no better recourse than to a search of its interpretation and the motives expressed at the time by the galaxy of statesmen who were responsible for the issuance of the declaration.

President Wilson who had approved the dec-



laration in advance and whose word carried the weightiest significance with Britain, said in 1918 to a Zionist delegation: "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish *Commonwealth*." (Italics ours.) Webster's Dictionary defines "commonwealth" as: "The body of people constituting a state or politically organized community; hence, a state; as the Commonwealth of Australia."

Lloyd George, who was Coalition Prime Minister at the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, writes in his memoirs as follows:

"It was not their intention that a Jewish State should be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish *Commonwealth*. (Italics ours). The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the head of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would

have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

Arthur James Balfour himself, at a War Cabinet meeting in October 1917, referring to the phraseology "National Home" said:

"It did not necessarily involve the early establishment of an independent Jewish State, which was a matter for gradual development in accordance with the ordinary laws of political evolution."

Winston Churchill in an article appearing February 8, 1920 in the "Illustrated Sunday Herald" wrote very pointedly:

"If, as well may happen, there should be created in our life-time by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish state under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which from every point of view would be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

The motif for the choice of the phrase "national home" as contradistinguished from "state" is explained by the Peel Commission of 1937 as follows:

"It is obvious in any case that His Majesty's Government could not commit itself to the establishment of a Jewish State. It could only under-

take to facilitate the growth of a Home. It would depend mainly on the zeal and enterprise of the Jews whether the Home would grow big enough to become a State."

At the Peace Conference on February 27, 1919, Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States, asked Dr. Weizmann whether a "Jewish national home" meant "an autonomous Jewish Government?" Dr. Weizmann replied:

"The Zionist Organization did not want an autonomous Jewish Government, but merely to establish in Palestine, under a mandatory power, an administration, not necessarily Jewish, which would render it possible to send into Palestine 70 or 80,000 Jews annually. The Zionist Association would require to have permission at the same time to build Jewish schools, where Hebrew would be taught, and in that way to build up gradually a nationality which would be as Jewish as the French nation was French and the British nation British. Later on, when the Jews formed the large majority, they would be ripe to establish such a Government as would answer to the state of the development of the country and to their ideals."<sup>1</sup>

Cumulative illustrations of the parliamentary intent surrounding the phraseology of the Balfour Declaration could be multiplied.

On the basis of all this testimony it is clear

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<sup>1</sup> Hanna, *supra*, pp. 51-2.

that Britain's enforcement of the Balfour Declaration as demonstrated by its investigatory commission reports and White Papers has been in clear contravention of the legislative or governmental—in fact, inter-governmental intent of the Balfour Declaration at the time of its issuance.

In passing, it is of interest to note the statement of Lord Robert Cecil that the only two constructive issues of World War I were the League of Nations and the Balfour Declaration—meaning, of course, the pristine Balfour Declaration, not the emasculated one.

## JEWISH PALESTINE'S PARTICIPATION IN AND CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD WAR II

After the declaration of war in September 1939, the Arab countries were either openly hostile to the Allies—such as Egypt, Syria and Iraq—or neutral on the surface—as Saudi Arabia and Transjordan. British armies had to quell pro-Nazi revolutions in Iraq and Syria. Even when invaded by the Nazis, Egypt did not declare war on the invader. Its Foreign Minister was arrested for pro-Nazi complicity. The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al Husseini, was openly propagandizing the Arabs from radio stations in Berlin where he was a Hitler favorite.

136,000 Jewish men and women in Palestine volunteered at centers set up by the Va'ad Leumi, National Jewish Council, for any military service the government would care to muster them into, although Palestine was not at war. Britain turned down all Jewish offers to create a Jewish army of Palestinian and stateless Jews. But it set up Palestinian units, consisting of Jews and Arabs, to fight under the British flag. These units were to consist of equal numbers of Jews and

Arabs. But since the Arabs were slow in enrolling, the Jewish constituency in these Palestinian units far exceeded that of the Arabs, though the Jews were less than 40% of Palestine's population. Three-quarters of the first Palestinian unit of 700 to arrive in Paris in February 1940 were Jews. By 1942, the Jewish numbers in Palestinian units stood at 12,000, compared to less than 5,000 Arabs! General Wavell reported of them, *inter alia*: "They showed remarkable courage and a splendid spirit of self-sacrifice." They fought gallantly in Ethiopia, Eritrea, Greece, Crete, and Syria. 1,500 Palestinian Jews served as RAF pilots; 1,000 as RAF bombardiers and observers; many served in the Royal Navy; 20,000 served in the Home Guard. Several thousand paid the supreme sacrifice.

Recently, in 1944, Britain went a step further and permitted the formation of an all-exclusive Jewish brigade under a Jewish flag. This brigade is to be commanded by Jewish officers. It is at present training in Cairo, Egypt. It is to fight in the liberation of Germany.<sup>1</sup>

Many Jewish suicide task units were formed. Twelve Jewish boys, a suicide task unit, paid the supreme price when they blew up the oil instal-

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<sup>1</sup> As this book goes to print, Germany has already been liberated. The Jewish Brigade has fought gallantly in the liberation of Northern Italy.

lations in Tripoli, Syria, terminus of the Mosul pipe line in that country.<sup>2</sup>

Brigadier General Frederick Kisch, Zionist leader and chief of the British engineering corps in the Middle East, organized General Montgomery's supply line and paid the supreme price at Bizerte. Jewish engineers built General Montgomery's forts at El Alamein which was the turning point of World War II and stemmed the Nazi advance towards a juncture with the Japs in the Indian Ocean by cutting the British life-line at the Suez Canal.

The great Christian friend of a Jewish Palestine who once wrote that "if Palestine is the Jews' national home, it is my spiritual home,"<sup>3</sup> pays due tribute to Palestine Jewry's contribution in this war. Says Van Paasen:

"Jewish population contributed more effectively to the repulse of the Axis advance upon Syria, Iraq, Egypt and the Suez Canal, to the triumph of British arms in Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somaliland, and to the final liberation of the Libyan and Tripolitanian coastal regions than the fifty times larger populations of the Arab countries combined."<sup>4</sup>

Rommel had 200,000 troops in Africa. "It

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<sup>2</sup> Van Paasen, *supra*, pp. 190-1.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre Van Paasen, "Days of Our Years," Dial Press, 1940, p. 353.

<sup>4</sup> "Forgotten Ally," *supra*, p. 227.

was the British Eighth Army that turned the tide (at Alamein—J.M.R.). In that Army and supporting that Army were 30,000 Jewish volunteers and 200,000 Palestinian industrial workers and farmers. In the circumstances that was not a negligible force . . .

“In the fateful hour when Britain’s fate hung in the balance and when Rommel boasted that as far as he was concerned it was all over but the shouting, the little land of Palestine placed at the disposal of the British Empire and its armies in the Near East an industrial apparatus of 7,000 factories, large and small.”<sup>5</sup>

On the agricultural and industrial war fronts, Palestine did wonders. Sixty eight new agricultural colonies were established between 1936 and 1940. The Jewish National Fund between 1936 and 1940 enlarged its acquisitions by the huge percentage of 39%, acquiring 144,229 new dunams of land.<sup>6</sup>

In the last five years 300 new industrial establishments were created, making a grand total for Jewish Palestine of 2,000 large industrial plants, or 7,000, large and small. 45,000 workers find employment in Palestine’s Jewish plants. They have been turning out for the war, hosts of manufactured products, such as: bandages, pharmaceuticals, vita-

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<sup>5</sup> “Forgotten Ally,” *supra*, pp. 229-30.

<sup>6</sup> The J.N.F. to-day (1945) owns about 45% of the Jewishly-owned land in Palestine. The PICA owns about 17%, and several thousand private owners about 38%.



mins, ether, sulfanilamide, benzoic and nicotinic acids, insulin, alkaloids, precision instruments, tobacco, boots, X-ray apparatus, cement, soap, chocolate, machinery parts, tents, uniforms, serums, laboratory equipment, electrical appliances, helmets, drills, diamonds for cutting tools, parachutes, armored cars, cranes, ambulances, railway equipment and steel and a host of other materials—all of these and others were sent to the British Eighth Army, as were also agricultural products. They were right on the spot, requiring no oceanic transportation through mined waters or over formidable distances.

The medical and research facilities of Hadassah Hospital in tropical diseases and surgery have been thrown open to the United Nations armies.

And so little Palestine—Jewish Palestine—has served as a miniature “arsenal of democracy”—in the Near East—the only “arsenal of democracy” in that sector of the world.

## A SHAMELESS CHAPTER

One of the most shameless chapters in all history surrounds the unseaworthy, unfit-for-cattle vessels on which Jews thrown out of Europe or facing sure extermination in Europe sought stealthily to enter Palestine. "Sought stealthily"—because Britain barred the gates of the Jewish National Home to Jews, discriminated against Jews in their own homeland. Barred from and thrown out of Europe, where could these unfortunate people go? It seemed that the waters would more readily receive them than the cruel earth. Nazi Germany's actions can be explained only by the epithet: barbarism. England's actions in this respect, unfortunately, must be characterized as a degrading, immoral recoiling of a civilized nation. Would it have treated in this fashion, e.g., Englishmen thrown out of Europe? And England made sure to deduct from the immigration quotas the number of "illegal" immigrants to Palestine plus the estimated number of those not apprehended.

Close to five hundred refugees, chiefly children, set forth in November 1939 on the tramp steamer *Salvador* from Roumania to Palestine. The *Salvador* went under in the Sea of Marmora with the loss of several hundred of its human cargo.

Another 1770 hapless Jews escaped Nazi Europe in November 1940 aboard the *Pacific* and the *Milos*. Landing in Palestine, the authorities transferred them in Haifa to the *Patria* for deportation to the Isle of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. The refugees were ordered to leave their newly-won motherland, the land of their dreams. On November 25th the *Patria* exploded with the loss of 250 Jews. It was only after strenuous objections by the United States that Great Britain rescinded its order of deportation of these unfortunates. Many of the survivors of the *Patria* later joined the British Middle East Armed forces. A Czech Jew rescued from the *Patria* was the first Allied soldier to fall in the siege of Tobruk.

1800 refugees who arrived in Palestine aboard the *Atlantic* were deported to the Indian Ocean—to a concentration camp on the island of Mauritius.

The 180-ton cattle boat *Struma*, unsanitary and unequipped, sailing from Nazi-dominated and pogromized Rumania, arrived at Istanbul, Turkey, in December 1941. The Turkish administration refused it admission to land unless Palestine visas could be had. The refugees wished to continue Palestinewards on the overland route. Palestine turned a deaf ear and when finally in February 1942 Palestine relented to the extent of admitting children under sixteen, the *Struma* had already left Turkish waters by constraint of the Turkish au-

thorities and over the protest of the boat's captain. The boat capsized in the Mediterranean on the way back to Rumania with a total loss of passengers but five.

We quote from the report of the Jewish Agency relative to the infamous *Struma* incident:

"The Jewish Agency has learned with grief and horror of the sinking in the Black Sea of the SS *Struma*, with 750 Jewish men, women and children aboard, refugees from Rumania. The boat had been lying at Istanbul since December 15, and the conditions as regard food and sanitation were described as "desperate." Every effort was made by the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem to persuade the Palestinian administration to admit these victims of persecution. The agency proposed that they should be put to the account of the immigration schedule which permits three thousand Jews to enter Palestine during the current six months. The matter was also taken up with the Colonial Office in London. The only concession obtained was in respect of children under sixteen who were to be allowed to enter Palestine.

"Two sets of arguments were put forward by the British authorities against granting the request of the agency to make adult refugees on the *Struma* also eligible for certificates under the current schedule: first, that these people had been under the Nazis, and that they might therefore include some

enemy agents; secondly, a shortage of supplies in Palestine.

"As regards the first point, the agency has repeatedly urged that such refugees should be placed in internment camps and not released until and unless characters were established to the full satisfaction of the Palestine administration.

"As regards the second objection, more than two thirds of the *Struma* refugees were people fit and willing to work and to fight. To use the argument of "short supplies" against admitting some two hundred elderly people flying from torture and death reflects on the intelligence, as well as on the heart, of those who advise it. Moreover, as these people would come under the schedule already granted, the problem of supply did not arise . . ."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted from "The Forgotten Ally," *supra*, pp. 258-60.

## ZIONIST POLITICAL PARTIES

The Zionists, like governments in being, have several group alignments, representing different shades of opinion in matters of party ideology. The only unanimity is regarding the fundamental thesis on which they all agree—namely, the reconstruction of a Jewish national homeland. They differ in the details and methods of effectuating that result. As the old adage has it, many roads lead to Rome.

The General Zionists or Centrists are divided into Group "A" and Group "B." Each group favors private initiative in Palestine, but whereas Group "A" is sympathetic to labor, Group "B" is not. Group "A" is by far the larger group.

Then there is the United Socialist-Labor party. In the U. S. it is supported by the Jewish trade-unions and is known as the Poale Zion-Zeire Zion party. In Palestine this party is known as the "Mapai" (abbreviation for Miflegeth Poale Eretz Israel—Party of Palestinian Workers). The Poale Zion originated in 1901 in Russia and then spread to other countries. The United Socialist-Labor bloc is also affiliated with the Socialist or Second International.

A more leftist offshoot of the Socialist block is the Left Poale-Zion. They are more akin to the

Hashomer Hazair (which follows in our discussion). They are too national to be affiliated with the Communist or Third International.

The Hashomer Hazair is an extremist Socialist group. It favors a joint Jewish-Arab participation in all labor, whereas the orthodox labor groups favor 100% Jewish employment in Histadrut, Labor Federation, undertakings if a Jewish national home is to be built rapidly and the maximum number of downtrodden and refugee Jews are to be admitted to Palestine. Orthodox labor favors a super-federation of labor in which both Jewish labor unions and Arab labor unions will be represented. Arab labor unions are still largely something in the future—and where they have arisen, they are the result of Jewish labor unions and activities. The super-federation organized by Histadrut, Palestine's Labor Federation, is known as the "Alliance of the Workers of Palestine." The Histadrut will thus be the Jewish section of the Alliance. In the meantime, pending the emergence of Arab institutions, the Sick Fund and the credit unions of Histadrut are available to Arabs as well. Excepting in the Jewish co-operatives and communes, which are all-Jewish and have no hired labor, Jewish private industry and agriculture—which constitute more than 50% of the Jewish undertakings—employ Arab labor as well as Jewish labor to the great benefit of the former. Furthermore, the majority of the workers on the Government's public works, supported largely by Jewish taxes, are Arabs.

The Mizrachi represents the right or moderate religious wing of Zionism. It was founded in 1901 by the great scholar and gaon, Rabbi J. Reines of Lida, Russia. Its spiritual godfathers had been the great scholar and gaon, Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer (discussed earlier in our story) and the great scholar and gaon, Rabbi Samuel Mohilever of Bialystok, Poland, one of Herzl's earliest collaborators.<sup>1</sup> It has its own complete, autonomous school system in Palestine. It also has a subsidiary group known as the Hapoel Hamizrachi or Labor Mizrachi group. The Hapoel Hamizrachi has religious labor colonies in Palestine. The motto of Mizrachi is: "Eretz Israel l'am Israel al pi Torath Israel"—Eretz Israel to the people of Israel in accordance with the Torah of Israel. Although Mizrachi is the orthodox religious party in Zionism, many religious Zionists — orthodox, conservative and reformed—are to be found among the Centrists.

The Revisionist Party was organized in 1925 by Vladimir Jabotinsky. In 1929 Jabotinsky demonstratively tore up his delegate's card at the World Zionist Congress sessions and together with his delegates walked out of the Congress in opposition to the formation of the Jewish Agency by the accretion of non-Zionists. In 1935 he seceded from the Zionist Organization and formed his own sep-

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<sup>1</sup> In Herzl's days a number of outstanding orthodox rabbis were bitterly opposed to Zionism on messianic grounds.



arate party, the New Zionist Organization. Its demands are non-co-operation with Britain and the inclusion of both sides of the Jordan in a Jewish State to be set up rapidly. It also is opposed to many of Labor's traditional weapons—such as strikes—and preaches compulsory arbitration of all labor disputes. It thus incurs the particular hostility of the Histadrut, Palestine's Federation of Labor. At times, clashes have occurred between Revisionists and Laborites.

The Jewish State Party, headed by Meir Grossman, is a small Revisionist group remaining within the ranks of the World Zionist Organization.

Each group or fraction has its youth groups. Thus, the General Zionists in Europe have the Maccabi Hazair and Hanoar Hazoni and in the United States they have the Young Judaea and Masada. The Mizrachi has the Bnai Akiba; the Poale Zion-Zeire Zion have the Labor Hehalutz, Gordonia and Hanoar Haoved. The Revisionists have the Brith Trumpeldor. Senior Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America, has the Junior Hassassah. Some of these youth groups have been doing excellent work. Thus, Junior Hadassah founded and supports childrens' refugee villages in Palestine, such as Meir Shefeya.

In the United States in 1941, the Zionist Organization, representing the General Zionists, and Hadassah jointly set up and financed a National Youth Commission to further youth work. It in

turn has organized local youth commissions in a number of Jewish communities from coast to coast. These commissions supervise and co-ordinate the educational and social activities of Zionist youth groups beyond the extent of supervision they receive from their respective national youth organizations. They also help form new clubs. The National Youth Commission has for several years been operating very successfully a number of summer camps in different parts of the country on a scholarship or tuition basis for Zionist youth leadership training. A notable example is the Brandeis Camp situated amidst beautiful surroundings in the Poconos of Pennsylvania. Well-rounded courses embracing all aspects of Zionism, Jewish history, Palestinian music and dances, arts and crafts, club leadership, etc. are conducted by a staff of prominent experts. The Commission also conducts weekend institutes or seminars during the course of the year.

The General Zionists have national and local organizations in all countries where Jews live in any numbers. Thus, in America there are the Zionist Organization of America (organized in 1897 as the Federation of American Zionists) and local Zionist districts and regions which are at the base of the parent body and cover the map of the country. The other groups—such as Mizrachi, Labor—have a similar schematization, but in addition have a parent World Body which has autonomy in all in-

ternal matters not affecting the joint policies and inter-governmental position of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, in which all Zionist parties are represented.

The World Zionist Congress elects a Larger Actions Committee or General Council which meets twice a year. An Inner Actions Committee or Executive functions in the daily routine of the organization.

It would be interesting to note the alignment of parties at a World Zionist Congress. Note the preponderance of the Labor bloc. Thus, at the 21st Congress held in August 1939 in Geneva, the party alignments were as follows:

United Socialist-Labor bloc:	216
General Zionists "A"	: 143
"      "      "B"	: 28
Mizrachi	: 65
Jewish State Party	: 8
Left wing Poale Zion	: 13
Miscellaneous	: 54
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Total	: 527

A coalition of the Labor Bloc with General Zionists "A," who are sympathetic to Labor, can control the Congress and has controlled it in recent years.

More than one million Jews are shekel holders and thus entitled to vote for delegates to the World Zionist Congress.

Agudas Israel, alluded to heretofore as the extremist religious group, and which is oftentimes anti-Zionist, stands outside the ranks of the World Zionist Organization. The very small number of Communists in Palestine combat Zionism as a tool of British Imperialism, and have actually absolved the Arab pogrom inciters of 1929 as victims of Anglo-Zionist imperialism.

## THE HISTADRUT

Mr. Abraham Revusky has written an excellent booklet entitled "The Histadrut—A Labor Commonwealth in the Making." That title epitomizes a prophetic glimpse into the future of Palestine's great Federation of Labor, or, as it is familiarly known—The Histadrut.

The Histadrut, organized in November 1920, with 4,433 members, has grown into a dominant organization of approximately 150,000 members. It represents about 80% of the Jewish workers in Palestine, an unusually large percentage. The leit-motif of the constitution of the Histadrut is this: Avodath Atzmith (self-labor) in labor settlements and non-exploitation anywhere. It is committed to a policy of social justice in the genuine sense of the word.

"Immediately after its foundation, the Histadrut became the most important instrument, not only for improving the living conditions of Palestine's workers, but, to a far greater extent, for bringing new labor immigrants and absorbing them into the growing economy of Palestine."<sup>1</sup>

The Histadrut has initiated and trained Jews

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<sup>1</sup> "The Histadrut—A Labor Commonwealth in the Making," League for Labor Palestine, p. 24.

coming from all over the world in all branches of constructive endeavor: building, farming, highway construction, harbor work, fishing, shipping, etc. Jews have been plying with alacrity all sorts of occupations barred to them for centuries.

The "Solel Boneh" is the name of its contracting co-operative for building. The Histadrut contracting offices for building and construction, in 1935, e.g., employed some 1500 laborers, and constructed work projects—such as roads, buildings for the government, public and individual institutions—valued at \$3,500,000.

Its agricultural contracting offices known as the "Yakhin," in 1935, e.g., employed about 1,000 laborers who planted orange groves for their Galuth-absentee-owners, and did other agricultural work on 6,400 dunams, to the value of \$600,000.

The Histadrut has been instrumental in the enactment of child labor and workmen's compensation acts by the Palestine Government. It has been responsible for wage increases by and collective bargaining with many employers.

One of its most important affiliates is the Merkaz Haklai (Union of Agricultural Workers). This affiliate comprises farmers in 99 settlements wherein there are 6,500 farming families.

The Kupath Holim of Histadrut (Labor Sick Benefit Fund) has constructed a network of hospitals, clinics, nurseries, etc. in the cities and villages of Palestine. It employs hundreds of doctors, den-

tists, etc. and rivals Hadassah in its significant health work.

As a result of the scientific methods employed by the Jewish pioneers of Palestine under the aegis of Histadrut and of Jewish scientific institutions, the yield of wheat has been increased to 20 bushels per acre as compared to 12 bushels per acre on Arab lands. Likewise, Jewish-owned breeds of cows yield 3500 quarts of milk annually compared to 800 quarts by Arab-owned cows. Jewish-owned hens lay 150 eggs annually compared to 75 eggs by Arab-owned hens.

Nir, financial instrument of Histadrut for colonization and home building, advances money for cows, seeds, poultry, etc.

Mr. Revusky is authority for the conclusion that "nowhere in the world have workers succeeded to the same extent in establishing and operating co-operative shops and factories in the cities."<sup>2</sup> Thus, the bulk of Palestine's motor transport is in the hands of several Jewish co-operatives. Although most industries are run on conventional capitalist lines, in the production and public service fields there are about 100 different co-operatives, employing thousands. Even on the consumer level there are about 50 co-operative stores. All in all there are over 900 Jewish co-operatives in Palestine.

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<sup>2</sup> Revusky, "Social Forces in Palestine," Hadassah Education Series, No. 2, p. 22.

Nine-tenths of Palestine's co-operatives are Jewish.

The Workers' Bank, organized by Histadrut with Zionist financial backing, is eminently successful and one of the strongest banks in Palestine. Equally successful is the Central Bank for Co-operative Institutions, organized by the Palestine Economic Corporation of America, one of the Brandeis group financial instrumentalities operating in Palestine. This group also helped create the co-operative insurance Company, Hasneh. The PEC—since we are dwelling on it—also established the Palestine Mortgage Bank and it is a stockholder in many large industrial projects. It has invested several million dollars in Palestine for both capitalistic and co-operative enterprises. All its enterprises, however, have been socially motivated. The Brandeis group consists of a number of American Jews, headed by the late Justice Brandeis and American Zionist industrialists, who believed that private capital was more important for Palestine's rapid development than the public financial instrumentalities, such as Keren Hayesod.

"Tnuva" is the name of the co-operative, marketing the products of the Jewish agricultural settlements of Palestine. Whereas in 1929 its sales amounted to £30,000 annually, in 1936 they had jumped to £500,000.

Co-operatives among the Arabs exist on a very small scale. The Government has been attempting, despite great obstacles, to further co-operatives,



particularly credit unions, among the Arab population. Their response has been slow to date. The co-operatives of Palestine have thus far been mainly Jewish enterprises.

Orthodox labor groups in Palestine favor 100% Jewish employment in Histadrut undertakings if a Jewish national home is to be built. In the communes, and smallholders' settlements, no outside laborers—Jewish or Arab—are employed. We have discussed this at a little greater length in the chapter headed "Zionist Political Parties." At the present time there is only one union wherein Jews and Arabs are represented together and not in separate national sections or camera—namely, the Union of Railway, Postal and Telegraph Workers, founded in 1920.

## KVUTZOTH AND MOSHAVIM

General Sir Arthur Wauchope, one of Palestine's better High Commissioners (1931-8), probably the most pro-Zionist of the lot, speaking before the Overseas League in London in 1939, related the great constructive experiment going on in Palestine in the formation of the Kvutzoth<sup>1</sup> or communes. He termed it the most distinctive feature of modern Palestinian colonization, one fraught with great import for a decadent Western Civilization. "What is the reason for this astonishing success (of the Kvutzoth in Palestine—JMR.)?" asked Wauchope. And he answered: "The reason is to be found in the spirit of the settlers. The spirit that fills them is the faith of a people believing themselves to be more happy leading a simple life without money, than if they joined in the general world-struggle for wealth and more wealth. Such a faith demands great unselfishness in the individual, as well as great devotion to the community . . . Wealth must be the servant, not the master of the people."

In the Kvutzah or commune, the land is owned in common, worked in common, implements are bought and produce is sold in common. The principle of labor is from each according to his ability and to each according to his need and according

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<sup>1</sup> Plural of Kvutzah.

to the Kvutzah income. There are no luxuries in the beginning — in fact, there are privations at first. Selfless devotion and prophetic zeal dominate. There is no mad rush for riches; there is no exploitation. The mad desire is to conquer the soil and thus make it easier for the second generation. The spirit is prophetic justice concretized.<sup>1</sup> Although economically communistic, it has no connection with Political Communism—in fact, is antagonistic to it. There is a common kitchen; a common nursery where the children are delicately and expertly tended during the day while both parents—mother as well as father—are working; and a common mess hall. Nursing is done by the mother on her several daily trips to the nursery but the care of the child otherwise is entrusted to most experienced hands. The child thus learns to combine love for his mother with social-mindedness. Living quarters, though subdivided, are at first very simple and unpretentious—sometimes but one room per couple. In some Kvutzoth there is no specialization—each one gets a chance at some aspect of the colony's work. In most Kvutzoth to-day there is specialization. Cultural life abounds in the evening—concerts, lectures, etc. Contrast this picture with that of capitalist exploitation.

The first successful Kvutzah was founded in

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<sup>1</sup> It is not the abstract prophetic justice preached by some high-salaried, anti-Zionist reform rabbis in magnificent but half-empty temples to barons of wealth and tycoons.

1909 at Dagan, near Lake Tiberias. Many others have followed in the course of the years. They have proven successful. It was a wonderful idea in developing barren land by Jews who previously had been members mostly of the middle-class. In the Kvutzoth they received agricultural training. Common efforts on sorely neglected land produced results. Collective effort conquered swampy land and insured greater safety against Bedouin maraudings.

In 1940, there were 76 Kvutzoth in Palestine with a total population of over 20,000. The average Kvutzah consists of 125 members. The largest Kvutzah is Ain Harod in the Valley of Esdraelon with 685 members. The inclusion of the "Kibbutzim"—Kvutzoth in the making, where only part of the members are already working the land and the balance are prospective members engaged in urban work but already pooling their resources with the land-workers in order to enlarge the farm—will augment the total population far beyond 20,000—by many more thousands.

There also exists a "Kibutz Hameichad" or United Kibutz, with which a number of Kvutzoth and Kibbutzim are affiliated. The stronger links in this chain lend a helping hand to the weaker links until they can stand on their own feet. The "Hashomer Hatzair" has a similar institution known as "Kibutz Artzi."

There also exist "Moshavim" (plural of "Mo-

shav"), or smallholders' settlements in which colonies there is a division of the land among the families. Each family works its own unit of land without any hired help. But the co-operative feature enters through the purchase of all supplies and sale of all products by the two large co-operatives—Tnuva and Hamashbir. This is a compromise between a Kvutzah and an out-and-out individualistic colony. Speculation is eliminated since the sale price of a farm by a member of a Moshav is determined by the Moshav, not by the interested parties.

The Kvutzah and the Moshav are the two dominant types of agricultural settlement in Palestine. They have been founded on Jewish National Fund land. A cross-breeding of these two settlement types was undertaken by several Moshavim in adopting communal cultivation of their grain fields but continuing their individual cultivation of dairy-ing, vegetable and fruit growing and poultry raising. Colonies of this type are Nahalal and Kfar Yehzekiel (Ezekiel), founded in 1921.

Today (1945) there are 87 Kvutzoth and Kibbutzim and 103 Moshavim in Palestine. Although there may be more privacy in a Moshav, the task of operating a Kvutzah is lightened by the specialization of its labor. Moreover, a Kvutzah can make room for more settlers and immigrants and thus is nationally more advantageous than a Moshav. Both, however, are animated by an unusual, almost preternatural zeal.

## 20-25% OF PALESTINIAN JEWRY ENGAGED IN AGRICULTURE

Despite all the obstacles poised by the Mandatory Power in the path of the Jew, what, in summary, have the Jews accomplished in Palestine in the last twenty five years?

A Gentile Zionist has eloquently summarized Jewish achievements in Palestine. Says Dr. John Haynes Holmes in his volume "Palestine To-day and To-morrow":

"Orange groves cover with fragrance and beauty what was formerly the waste and desolate sand dunes of the Mediterranean shore. Wheat and barley yield their abundant harvest in lowlands drained of those stagnant pools which smote even the wandering horseman with disease and death.

"New-planted forests dot a land which was long since stripped of trees; factories and power plants break the ancient silence with the modern clash of the machine; towns with schools and libraries and cultured citizens cover a country given over to the mud hut of the illiterate villager or the goatskin tent of the primitive nomad."

The ratio of Jews engaged in agriculture to the general Jewish population in Europe (at least

before Hitler's ascension to power) was about 5 per cent. In the United States, it is even less. This small percentage is accountable by the fact that for two thousand years, the Jew has been barred by decree from ownership and cultivation of the soil, and has been denied anchorage in any country for an extended period of time.

The Jew has been a wanderer among the nations of the world—always with a cane in hand—ready at a moment's notice to listen to, and heed, the cruel edict of the country's ruler pronouncing a new hegira: Get thee forth from thy land and thy place of sojourn.

In Palestine, however, the Jew is entrenching himself in the soil as a free man, as a freeholder, as a permanent citizen. The ratio has been normalized. 20 to 25 per cent of the Jews in Palestine are engaged in agriculture! (The percentage has varied from time to time within these ranges.) These are normal percentages. The charge frequently leveled against the Jew that he is not a farmer with roots in Mother Earth is untrue. In Palestine, the Jew is engaged in "a co-ordinated colonization effort that, in my opinion, is the most successful in modern times."<sup>1</sup> It was mediaeval intolerance that forced the Jew into certain trades and barred him from the soil.

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Clay Lowdermilk, "Palestine, Land of Promise," Harper's, 1944, p. 121.

A preparatory period—of about two years—in training or “Hakshara” camps in Europe usually precedes the arrival of the pioneers or “Chalutzim” in Palestine. In 1935 there were 24,000 such young people in Hakshara camps of all Zionist parties.

Jews have invested in Palestine over \$500,000,-000. The Jewish investment in the agriculture of the country represents more than \$100,000,000. The two single largest landowners in Eretz Israel are the Jewish National Fund which owns its land in fee as the inalienable property of the Jewish people, and the PICA (Baron Edmond de Rothschild’s organization), respectively. Half of the Jewish population of Palestine which is engaged in agriculture, cultivates land owned by the Jewish National Fund. The totality of Jewish land ownership is 6% of Palestine’s 26,000,000 dunams (or about 1,600,-000 dunams) and about 14% of its cultivated land. This, of course, is out of balance to the proportion of the Jews in the general population. But the value of the Jewish agricultural products exceeds their proportionate land holdings by 100%. The vast bulk of Palestine’s Arabs are engaged in agriculture—primitive, except where they have been touched by Jewish agricultural methods. The backward fellah knows nothing of modern agriculture.

“The most outstanding achievement of Palestine agriculture is the scientific production of citrus fruit . . . The Arabs quickly adopted the modern methods of the Jews and together the two commu-



nities have built up a citrus industry which before this war made Palestine the second 'largest citrus exporting country in the world.'"<sup>2</sup>

Through Jewish effort—blood, sweat and tears—a desert has been converted into a blooming garden. Marshes have been drained. Malaria has been conquered. Neglected land has been irrigated. The denuded hills and valleys have been afforested. The Plain of Sharon and the hills of Galilee and Judaea reverberate to the song of undaunted pioneers, free men in every sense of the world. The miracle of the new Zion has found expression in the beautiful, lilting Hebrew song of a Palestinian poetess, Rachel, the opening words of which read:

"And perhaps these things never came to pass,  
And perhaps I ne'er rose in the morn to my garden,  
To labor it with the sweat of my palms . . ."

The miracle is thus portrayed as made of the stuff of dreams.

Perhaps nowhere is the impact of the revolutionary import of Zionism made more apparent than in the rise of the New Jerusalem—the beautiful suburb with wide avenues and beautiful groves outside the ancient, walled city of Jerusalem.

Referring to the new type of youth being reared in Palestine, M. J. Landa, one of the authorities on modern Palestine, has said that it is "a

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<sup>2</sup> Lowdermilk, *supra*, pp. 94-5.

wonderful youth, brisk of mind, rigorous of sinew, of athletic physique . . . mentally clean and keenly conscious of its mission and its opportunity to create a new life and spirit."<sup>3</sup>

A significant bi-annual event for the youth of Paletine is the Maccabiad, Jewish equivalent of the Olympic games, held at the beautiful Tel Aviv stadium. In the 1935 Maccabiad, 23 countries participated with more than 5000 representatives. 50,000 people paid admission to see the games.

The sanity that Palestine has brought to collective Israel is reflected in the incidence of insanity among its Jews. It is said that the Jews generally have a higher percentage of insane than the general population. But whereas the incidence of insanity among the races of the world is 300-400 per 100,000, among Palestine's Jews it is only 190 per 100,000.

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<sup>3</sup> Ziff, *supra*, pp. 186-7, quoting Broadhurst, *supra*, p. 227.

## JEWISH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

"Knesseth Israel" means the Community of Israel. It is the name for the totality of the Jewish population in Palestine in a political sense, just as "Yishuv" is its name in a geographic sense. Unless a Jew formally renounces his membership in the Knesseth Israel, he belongs. At first the Mizrachi (moderate religious Zionist group) as well as the Agudas Israel (extremist religious group, often anti-Zionist in ideology and not a constituent party in the Zionist Organization) held aloof from the Knesseth Israel. The Mizrachi held aloof because of opposition to woman suffrage, which was contrary to Talmudic law on the subject in ancient times. The Mizrachi subsequently adhered to the Knesseth Israel; the Agudas Israel continued its separatism.

The Knesseth Israel has the power of communal taxation for religious (Rabbinate, etc.), and educational and social purposes. It elects an executive body by popular suffrage, known as the "Vaad Leumi" or National Constituent Body—National Council of Jews. The first Vaad Leumi was elected in 1920. The Jewish Community Ordinance, the Constitution for Palestine Jewry, was finally enacted in 1928. It provides for universal suffrage.

In 1932, the Vaad Leumi, assumed control of the General Zionist school system of Palestine. It is always on the alert, reacting to all the political problems confronting Palestine.

In 1921, a Chief Rabbinate was set up by the Government. Rabbi Abraham J. Kook (1866-1935), great Talmudic scholar, gaon and philosopher, and genial spirit, became first Chief Rabbi under this ordinance. Rabbi Dr. Isaac Halevi Herzog, great Talmudic scholar, gaon and versatile scholar, is the present incumbent.

It is worthy of note than in Palestine to-day Jewish holidays and the Jewish Sabbath are observed as Jewish national holidays and the question of one's religiosity does not enter. Religion is a matter of one's private conscience, but the Jewish festivals and their spirit have been nationalized, and in a national aura can be enjoyed by the ritually irreligious as well. Thus, Pentecost (Shabuoth) is celebrated with much pomp by the bringing of the first fruits; Hamisha Asar bi-Shebat in planting trees, especially by school children; and Purim is celebrated in Tel Aviv with such hilarity that a new term has been coined in Palestine to express the exuberance—namely, "Adliyada," i.e., till one doesn't know where he is. Thus the holidays assume living, concrete significance by correlation with the growing, agricultural life of the country.

## OFFICIAL ZIONIST POSITION RELATIVE TO THE ARABS

The Zionist memorandum submitted to the League of Nations prior to the ratification of the Mandate embodies the official Zionist view consistently adhered to with relation to the Arabs of Palestine. It set forth as follows:

“The Jews demand no privilege unless it be the privilege of rebuilding by their own efforts and sacrifices a land, which once the seat of a thriving and productive civilization, had long been suffered to remain derelict. They expect no favored treatment in the matter of political or religious rights. They assume, as a matter of course, that all the inhabitants of Palestine, be they Jews or non-Jews, will be in every respect on a footing of perfect equality. They seek no share in the Government beyond that to which they may be entitled under the Constitution as citizens of the country. They solicit no favors. They ask, in short, no more than assured opportunity of peacefully building up their National Home—by their own exertions and succeeding on their own merits.”

A handful of Zionists in Palestine, headed by Dr. Judah L. Magnes, Chancellor of the Hebrew

University of Jerusalem, has organized into the "Brith Shalom" group—the Covenant of Peace, more lately known as the "Ichud" or "Unity" group. They have found no echo among the Arabs and have effected no rapprochement whatsoever despite their very moderate policies. They favor an entente with Arabs based on moderate Jewish immigration into Palestine to be frozen at a fixed percentage—40, 45, or 50%—the percentages have varied from time to time in an ascendant order—so that Jews should not become a majority. The question of Palestine's future Jewish immigration—if any—is to be left undecided until a more peaceful climate will, with the co-operation of both sides, determine the issue. They favor a bi-national state in which both Jew and Arab will have a parity of representation and political control, no matter what the proportion of Jew and Arab will be. This, of course, is contrary to the official Zionist position and to the legislative intent of the Balfour Declaration.

Proposals for a cantonization of Palestine—into Jewish and Arab cantons—on the precedent of the Swiss cantons, have also been broached for a Federated Palestine. This proposal bears a resemblance to the partition scheme in that it would effect a geographical separation of the two nationalities, with all the weaknesses of partition. Its point of departure would be the creation of a Federated Palestine in which both nationalities would be rep-

resented to pass upon matters and policies of joint interest.

In Mediaeval Europe—in Spain—Jew and Arab collaborated to keep alive European civilization amidst surrounding, penetrating gloom and darkness. Will this monumental historic collaboration repeat itself in our day?

Some people are apprehensive of the position of a Jewish State amidst surrounding Arabic states. There has also been talk of a Pan-Arab Federation. These fears are exaggerated.

The idea of a Pan-Arab Federation has been largely whipped up by British imperial interests and has no organic underpinning of its own. Professor Friedrich of Harvard University comments as follows in this regard:

“The Arabs, meanwhile, are pushing a Pan-Arab Federation, and it has been alleged that the British Colonial Office is nurturing these developments in the hope of taking Syria from France and Libya from Italy under the disguise of such a federation. The idea supposedly is that an Arab Federation would fall under British influence because of its internal weakness, torn as it would be between the several Arab factions. Furthermore, as in India, the beneficiaries of the decaying feudal system would depend upon British support for the maintenance of their control. This surely is a form of imperialism linked with social reaction which the

United States would not wish to be associated with.”<sup>1</sup>

There is no social cohesion or organic unity among the constituent elements which would form the Pan-Arab Federation. “. . . But between the Bedouins of Arabia proper and the cultured scientists and industrialists of Syria there is a gulf of several thousand years which no artifice is able to bridge.”<sup>2</sup> “. . . there is no social or cultural cohesion among the Arabs, and it is also too easy to whip up the fanaticism of the vast illiterate majority by making appeals to their religious fervor, appeals which, as things are, appear to be little other than dishonest . . . Talk of Arab unity is premature. The Arab . . . has little talent for constructive teamwork . . . There is nothing common save language and religion between the Arab of Damascus and the Arab of the Hadramaut, between the effendi anywhere and the fellah . . . This Arab nationalism is, therefore, purely chauvinistic and is devoid of any social content, such as care for education, improving the lot of the fellah, cultural development, and the like.”<sup>3</sup>

There are warring religious sects among the Arabs with fierce animosity one against the other.

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<sup>1</sup> Carl J. Friedrich, “American Policy Toward Palestine,” Public Affairs Press, 1944, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Ernst Frankenstein, “Justice for My People,” Dial Press, 1944, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Frankenstein, *supra*, p. 138, quoting Ernest Maine, “Palestine at the Crossroads,” pp. 16-17, 26, 30.



Suffice it to mention the Sunnites and the Shiites. The spectre of a sound or lasting Arabic unity is a mere mirage. Then again, the internecine rivalries among the Arab chieftains and rulers have become almost proverbial.

Should an Arab Regional Federation for economic purposes arise and strike roots, a Jewish state with ties to the democracies would be a most valuable asset to it.

**A further discussion of the Arab problem and situation will be found in the chapter on "Some Zionist Philosophy and Thoughts."**

## ACHAD HA-AM (1856-1927) AND CULTURAL ZIONISM

One of the great figures in modern Jewish annals was the Hebrew philosopher-essayist, Asher Ginsberg, renowned under his nom-de-plume, Achad Ha-am (One of the People). He is known as the father of "Cultural Zionism."

Achad Ha-am's thesis in the days of the *Chovevei Zion* (Lovers of Zion) and in the early days of Political Zionism, was that the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine was not the *sine qua non* of a return of the Jews to Palestine. In his opinion, a condition precedent of the return of the Jews to Palestine, was a return to Judaism, culturally speaking.

Nordau spoke in his great Congress orations on the plight of Jewry, of the "Judennot" (Need of the Jews), whereas Achad Ha-am wrote of the "Judenthumsnot" (Need of Judaism). What was needed in Palestine was a focus, a cultural center for Jews the world over. Palestine, said Achad Ha-am, would not solve the economic problems of the Jews throughout the world. It would help alleviate them, but a majority of the Jews would always remain outside of Palestine. Palestine would solve the *Jewish Problem*, but not the *Problem of the Jews*.

In order that an autonomous, deep-rooted, well-functioning cultural Homeland be established in Palestine, it was necessary that the majority of the population in Palestine consist of Jews. After centuries of suffering, it would be an absurdity to create in Palestine a type of European state; Palestine must become a model community.

The ultimate end might be a Jewish state, Achad Ha-am admitted, but what was needed (this was considerably before Hitler's rise), was not a concentration of efforts upon the political status of Palestine, but rather, upon the education of Jews throughout the world—a return to the sources and life-channels of Judaism. Jews must once again put their national consciousness above their individual and selfish pursuits.

He felt that religion could no longer be the unifying force for all Jewry since its citadel had been undermined by the onslaughts of modern science and philosophy. He posited national unity—the unity of common descent and of common national remembrances—and national ethics as the forces which could unify and consolidate the scattered and weakened House of Israel.

Our most sublime and noblest expression, *Propheticism*, was attained in Palestine. In the "Galuth" (The Diaspora) it has always reasserted itself but in a truncated, and at times petrified manner. In Palestine, it will once again find itself — and, in Palestine, only under the aegis of a collective Jewish

community. The cultural center in Palestine would radiate its beneficent rays to all the Jewish peripheries represented by the Diaspora.

Cultural Zionism, outlined briefly above, of which Achad Ha-am was the father and the chief protagonist, has since merged into the program of the official Zionist movement, of which it is but one aspect. It does not represent a force or body distinct from, or antithetical to Political Zionism. Education has become an important part of the program of the Political Zionist movement.

Achad Ha-am's early opposition to Political Zionism seems to have withered with the years. In his brilliant essay "Prophet and Priest," he had posited the ideals of the prophets as goals which are never attained in actual life. They are the highest expression of the highest type of individual, the world-illuminating and heaven-towering individual. The priest, on the other hand, temporizes the prophet's ideals and carries them through channels to the people to meet the demands and thoughts of the day. Achad Ha-am was satisfied with the "high priests" of the modern political Zionist movement.

Chaim Weizmann and Nahum Sokolow were under Achad Ha-am's cultural influence from the very beginning and were endeavoring to carry out his ideals in actual life. They had been prime movers in founding the so-called "Democratic Fraction" at the Fifth World Zionist Congress—the group which urged, *inter alia*, greater cultural

activities upon the Zionist Organization. Achad Ha-am's unjustified early suspicions that Theodore Herzl was but another pseudo-Messiah, and a diplomatic adventurer who did not understand the spirit and soul of his people, gradually gave way with the passage of time. Political Zionism has combined the spiritual growth of Palestine with the physical growth of the country. Witness the erection of the Hebrew University in Palestine.

Herzl had a genius for statebuilding; Achad Ha-am lacked that and failed to sense its presence in Herzl. But after Herzl's death, Achad Ha-am fully appreciated that "his image was lodged forever in the fantasy of his people, and there it would continue to grow until it became the perfect and stainless embodiment of the national longing for freedom and honor—an heroic figure pointing the way to liberation and rebirth."<sup>1</sup>

In 1916-17 Achad Ha-am was a guiding member of the Zionist Political Committee which framed the Zionist draft of the Balfour Declaration and submitted it to the British Government for its approval.

The "Will to Live" of the Jewish people has not found better expression than in Achad Ha-am's masterful article "Way of Life":

"The vicissitudes of Israel throughout the Diaspora during these latter days of ours, make it

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<sup>1</sup> Bein, *supra*, p. 507.

plain that we Jews cannot hope to lead the life of a separate nation among strange peoples, and yet be as one of them, taking part in all the activities about us as though we were full-blooded natives of the lands of our sojourn and at the same time, remain a nation peculiar in its views and distinct in its character . . . Misfortunes maim our manhood, favorable circumstances our national spirit. The former makes of us men despicable in the eyes of our neighbors, the latter a nation despicable in its own sight . . . Two paths lie stretched before us: The path of life and the path of death. If our eyes are fixed on the death goal, then let us disregard the counsel of temporizing healers, let us await death with a calm spirit . . . If however, we choose life, then it behooves us to build a house for ourselves alone and in a secure spot—and can there be any spot securer than the land inherited from our fathers? — then it behooves us to consecrate our noblest powers, material and spiritual, to the one purpose, the regeneration of our people in the land of our forefathers.”

Many of Achad Ha-am's essays, appearing in four volumes in the original Hebrew under the title “*Al Perashat Derachim*” (At the Parting of the Ways), have been translated into the leading European tongues. He is the author of the famous phrase “Slavery in Freedom,” title of one of his essays, depicting the inner slavery and superficial, external freedom of assimilated Jewry.

## PROPOSED JORDAN VALLEY AUTHORITY AND ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY OF PALESTINE

Walter Clay Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief to the Soil Conservation Service of the United States Government Department of Agriculture, in his recent book "Palestine, Land of Promise" (Harper's, 1944), proposes the equivalent of T.V.A. for Palestine, namely: a Jordan Valley Authority. He proposes, in brief, the diversion of the sweet waters of the Upper Jordan, Yarmuk and Zerqa rivers for large-scale irrigation. The Jordan descends and flows into the Dead Sea which is 1300 feet below sea level. The diversion of the sweet waters of the Jordan would add to the natural evaporation of the Dead Sea. It is proposed to compensate for this loss by building a canal from the Mediterranean to the Jordan. Further, "the power program calls for the introduction of sea water from the Mediterranean into the Jordan River Valley for the double purpose of compensating the Dead Sea for the loss of the diverted sweet waters of the Jordan and of utilizing the sea water for development of power."<sup>1</sup> Hydroelectric stations would be built along the

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<sup>1</sup> Lowdermilk, *supra*, p. 171.

course of the fall as the sea water dropped into the Jordan rift. He claims that this "makes possible a huge reclamation project capable of supporting at least four million refugees in addition to the two million Jews already living there."<sup>2</sup> It also makes possible the reclamation of the semi-arid Negeb, or South Country. He offers the plan not only as a solution of the Jewish refugee problem but, further, as a "large-scale model for the restoration of the long-neglected lands of the Near East." A million square miles of independent (as a result of World War I), sprawling, vastly neglected Arab territory are occupied by about only 8,000,000 Arabs. The Arabs have all the space they need—and considerably much more to spare.

Palestine with 10,100 square miles has only less than 2,000,000 inhabitants. Compare this with civilized Belgium which has 11,755 square miles but has a population of 8,130,000. In ancient Palestine, historians tell us, four or five million Jews lived in the country.

One is tempted to ask—with reason—whether Britain's appeasement policy and repression of further industrial penetration and socio-cultural progress in Palestine is not due to its imperialistic fear that an awakened, prosperous, pulsating Palestine may arouse the whole Middle East to an unprecedented tempo of progressive activity and compete

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<sup>2</sup> Lowdermilk, *supra*, Jacket of book and p. 169.



with Britain on the world's markets and finally cast off the shackles of Empire. Imperialism demands that the raw products from the colonies be exchanged in the mother country for its manufactured products, but forbids the colonies to engage in the art of manufacturing to any serious extent. The short-sightedness of George III in the American colonies finds its parallel in Palestine today.

"After the centuries of darkness which crushed the hopes of Palestine's miserable inhabitants, a new force has come into the land and made it live again. The possibility of a new day for the entire Near East is hidden in the fertile lands, the flourishing villages and cities, the co-operatives and the factories of Jewish Palestine.

"If the forces of reclamation and progress Jewish settlers have introduced are permitted to continue, Palestine may well be the leaven that will transform the other lands of the Near East. Once the great undeveloped resources of these countries are properly exploited, 20 to 30 million people may live decent and prosperous lives where a few million now struggle for a bare existence. Palestine can serve as the example, the demonstration, the lever, that will lift the entire Near East from its present desolate condition to a dignified place in a free world."<sup>3</sup>

"Centuries of neglect of their lands and consequent wastage demonstrate that the Arabs have

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<sup>3</sup> Lowdermilk, *supra*, pp. 228-9.

not shown the genius or ability to restore the Holy Lands to their possibilities. But the Jews, by their magnificent examples in colonization, have demonstrated their ability to reclaim and redeem wasted lands from desolation to high productivity. By making possible the settlement of millions of Jewish refugees in their historic homeland, we shall wipe out one of the darkest blots on our civilization—the persecution of the people who have given us the foundations of our religious conception and the basis of the democracy for which we fight today unto death.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Lowdermilk, *supra*, p. 179.

## ZIONISM AND AMERICANISM

No better Jew nor American ever lived than Louis Dembitz Brandeis, the "People's Lawyer" and later the liberal United States Supreme Court Justice. How did he view the red herring of "double loyalty" thrown at times in the path of Zionists? In other words, can one be loyal both to Americanism and to Zionism?

"Let no American imagine," said Brandeis, "that Zionism is inconsistent with Patriotism. Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent. A man is a better citizen of the United States for being also a loyal citizen of his state and of his city; for being loyal to his family and to his profession or trade; for being loyal to his college or his lodge. Every Irish American who contributed towards advancing home rule was a better man and a better American for the sacrifice he made. Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will likewise be a better American for doing so . . ."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Brandeis on Zionism," published by Zionist Organization of America, 1942, p. 28.

"Indeed, loyalty to America demands rather that each American Jew become a Zionist. For only through the ennobling effect of its strivings can we develop the best that is in us and give to this country the full benefit of our great inheritance. The Jewish spirit, so long preserved, the character developed by so many centuries of sacrifice, should be preserved and developed further, so that in America as elsewhere the sons of the race may in the future live lives and do deeds worthy of their ancestors . . . <sup>2</sup>

"Organize, Organize, Organize, until every Jew in America must stand up and be counted, counted with us, or prove himself, wittingly or unwittingly, of the few who are against their own people . . . <sup>3</sup>

"If, in our lives, we want something beside the commonplace, if we want adventure, if we want romance, if we want the elevation which attends intellectual and spiritual stirring; if we want the deeper satisfaction of having aided in making this world and our own people better and happier, we must put our minds on what we can aid in doing there. If we cannot take a direct part within Palestine, let us make sure that somebody else goes, in whose work we will interest ourselves, and in whose trials and ultimate successes we have some part."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> *Supra*, p. 127.

Certainly no fair-minded Gentile thinks Zionism is incompatible with Americanism. All American Presidents starting with Woodrow Wilson have heartily endorsed the movement. The United States Congress has put its unanimous stamp of approval upon it. The American Palestine Committee, a pro-Zionist body, consists of eminent Christian Senators, Congressmen, professors, writers, etc. It represents the will of democratic, Christian America mustered in behalf of the new sister-democracy arising in Zion. Similar organizations exist in other democracies.

Zionism never meant that Jewries living securely in the democracies were to take bag and baggage in hand and ship out to Palestine. If this thought be in the minds of any American Jewish youth—and it is, as shown by their questionings, in opposition—then it must be uprooted. To the Jews of America, e.g., Americanism comes before Zionism. The Jews of America as a body are too loyal to America and enjoy their democracy too much to want to uproot their habitat. Jews anywhere owe but one *political* loyalty: to the country of their citizenship. Cultural pluralisms enrich a democracy and Zionism is part of the *cultural pluralism* of the Jew. Zionism aims at the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth wherein a majority of the population of Palestine will be Jewish and where Jewish culture will form the social milieu. But the majority of the Jews of the world will live

outside Palestine. Palestine will serve as a refuge for several million persecuted Jews, as a cultural center for all conscious Jews and as a homeland for any Jew desirous of living there.

American Jewry, by an overwhelming majority constituting 95% of its duly accredited representatives, at the sessions of the American Jewish Conference first assembled at New York in 1943, declared in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The American Jewish Conference is a democratically elected body chosen by Jewish groups and organizations throughout the breadth and length of the country.

## **SOME MODERN GENTILE EXPRESSIONS ANENT A JEWISH PALESTINE— SELECTED AT RANDOM**

Ely Culberston, internationally famous bridge expert, in his recent book on a World Federation writes, *inter alia*, anent the "Jewish Sovereign State" he expects to arise in Palestine, as follows:

"Nothing short of a sovereign Jewish state could remove the Jewish question from the agenda of civilized mankind. The Jewish problem really arose with the destruction of the Jewish corporate state in Palestine in the first century . . . The Jewish nation must be granted its own passport to the family of nations. Then, the historic Jewish Problem will dwindle to the size of, say, the Italian, Irish or Polish "problems" in the United States."

Bertrand Russell, outstanding British philosopher - mathematician, writing in the "New Palestine," organ of the Zionist Organization of America," for June 11, 1943, said:

" . . . but I have come gradually to see that, in a dangerous and largely hostile world, it is essential to Jews to have some country which is theirs, some region where they are not suspected aliens, some State which embodies what is distinctive in

their culture . . . I think, however, that it should be possible, in the Peace Treaty to insert provisions forbidding all legislative discrimination against Jews, and to create an international tribunal one of whose duties should be to hear complaints as to infractions of these provisions. The Jewish National State could bring such complaints before the tribunal and collect the necessary evidence, more effectively than any other body. Since it is clear that the majority of Jews must continue to live elsewhere than in Palestine, this may prove a very important function of the Palestinian State."

One of the greatest friends of a Jewish Palestine was the late Lord Josiah Wedgewood. His panegyric on Zionism appearing in his volume "The Seventh Dominion" reminds one of an earlier English rhapsodist of Zion, George Eliot. Harken to the words of Wedgewood:

"So, too, the Jews! They went before us long ago—a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night — guiding the world. Moses led out from Egypt the first non-conformists, the first free-thinkers to break away from idolatry and priestly rule. Judah Maccabeus led the first national rising against the rule of tyrants—led it to victory 1,600 years before the Swiss or Scotch or Dutch followed in the footsteps of these Jewish peasants; while in between Moses and the Maccabees lie all those familiar Bible stories, with Joshua holding up the sun at noon, and all the Psalms of David. To-



wards such a people one has a feeling almost of awe: they are so well known, and yet so old and eternal. For us they too have assuredly made their proofs.

"The Dutch, the Swiss, the Greeks, the Irish—all the little peoples who have struggled, suffered and gained their freedom—need no man's sympathy now. They have achieved their homeland. With the Jews this is not so, and they have suffered far more and far longer than the others. We know all about it, for English literature has not been slow to blazon it in verse and prose with hot denunciation. If Jews were not so rich we should be far more vocal with our sympathy, for the Anglo-Saxon hates cruelty and injustice as Mediterranean races hate the devil. It has gone on for centuries. Every crusade started with a butchery of Jews.

"Is it any wonder that intelligent Englishmen are Zionist? It is the reply to the anti-Semites, that we are tired of their lies and their vulgarities."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. John Haynes Holmes, eminent Christian clergyman, wrote in his "Palestine: To-day and To-morrow," at page 163, as follows:

"For him (the Jew—J.M.R.) there can be no final dignity, no ultimate self-respect, until he has some spot upon the earth which he can call his own."

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph Wedgewood, "Seventh Dominion," pp. 121-2. (Wedgewood hoped that Palestine would become the Seventh Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations.)

And again at page 239:

"There is an imperative in this undertaking which is inescapable. The Jews are a frustrated people. Defeated, driven, degraded, they have lived for ages as prisoners in a dungeon . . . As a climactic irony of fate, frustration would have come to the Jews at last not from without but from within, and such frustration would be final . . . Jewry will now rise, never to fall again; or else it will now fall, never to rise again. It is because the inner crisis is now so great, that I feel there must be a success in Palestine which will endure."

Former Vice-President Henry A. Wallace in an address on October 31, 1940, said, *inter alia*:

"The Jewish people have been hungering for some kind of stability on the land for thousands of years—on that ancient bit of land which Abraham paid for and which was abandoned for a time by Joseph and his brethren, but which was built up again, and is now being resettled for a third time—resettled not by grace of government help, but through the funds, spirit and tradition of the Jewish people.

"And so I, a Gentile, close to this effort, regard the translation of this spirit into tangible reality as one of the most exciting undertakings in the world—for it is a spirit which comes down from olden times, but is at the same time forward looking."

## SCROLL IN CORNERSTONE OF LEON BLUM COLONY

In November 1943 the cornerstone of the first building in the colony named after the great French Jew and former French Prime Minister, Leon Blum, was laid. The scroll, written in Hebrew and placed in the cornerstone, expresses very characteristically the passion, zeal and dynamism of Palestinian pioneering youth. It is worth repeating as we do here:

"We are sons of exiles, who have gathered here from many parts of the world. We have struck root in the soil of our homeland and bear aloft the torch of our future, lighting the way for those coming after. Among us are servants of the Zionist pioneering movement in the American Diaspora and the last immigrants of the youth pioneering movement of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which today are occupied by the enemy. Among us are those who have escaped Nazi prison camps in Western Europe.

"We have banded ourselves together in a covenant to continue the glorious tradition of daring construction and serve as a loyal guard for the community of Israel in the homeland being re-

built. We remember our ravaged Diaspora to-day. Galilee's magic encompassed us until we vowed we would never leave Galilee and build our home amid its fruitful fields. In these fields the Galilee song of rejoicing shall yet be heard."

Several thousand American Jews reside in Palestine. Most of them are there because of deep-rooted, ideological, pioneering zeal. A few feel, moreover, that they have better economic prospects in a discrimination-free Jewish homeland for themselves and their children.

## SOME ZIONIST PHILOSOPHY AND THOUGHTS

History has its waves and crests. It has its "waves of the future." It is my sincere belief that there is a phenomenon which I term "historic instinct"—not a mystical entity, but a tangible, historic phenomenon. "Waves of the future" based on justice and decency surge and roll on; "waves of the future" based on injustice and tyranny ebb and vanish. That is why Zionism will succeed and why Hitlerism will fail.

One of history's "waves" was our own great democracy—America. In 1492—or earlier—the American continent was first discovered. North America was then a sprawling giant occupied only by several hundred thousand Indians. Where these Indians originated—whether they were aborigines or wanderers across the Straits of Behring from Asia—no one knows and it is not to our purpose. The fact remains that Europeans in the centuries to follow, driven by economic necessity, religious persecution, political tyranny, etc. streamed by the millions from all over the globe into the United States. None of them stopped to ask the question: Shall we migrate where there already are inhabitants? No! Necessity knew no questions. It knew no doubts. They poured in generation after gener-

ation. (This is not meant as a condonation of unwarranted acts of bloodshed against Indians which soil some early pages of American history.) They built up the greatest democracy the world has ever known—the greatest laboratory of human experimentation. They built up what has become in our day, in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous phrase, "the arsenal of Democracy." "Historic instinct" drove them on to this country. If it were not for America, Western civilization as we know it to-day might have perished, overrun by the barbaric Nazi hordes.

An analagous situation is occurring to-day in Palestine—analagous, yet somewhat different. The difference lies in the fact that the Jews in going to Palestine are returning to a country they once occupied as an independent country, for some fifteen hundred years. They were a normal people rooted in their soil. As an autonomous, soil-rooted people they gave to the world the collective contribution of the Jewish people quâ people—Prophetism, the message of the immortal prophets—the message of equal treatment for the widow and the orphan, of justice and mercy, of peace and international law. The Hebraic contribution to civilization is the foundation of Christianity and Mohammedanism, embracing 650,000,000 and 220,000,000 adherents respectively. In Lecky's famous phrase, it was Hebraic "mortar that cemented the foundations of the American republic."

Then after a valiant struggle of years, by dint of the force majeure of Rome, the Jews were driven from Palestine in 70 C.E. and dispersed all over the globe. They then ceased to live the life of a nation rooted in its soil. Their contributions to civilization thereafter were not the contributions of collective Israel, but those of individual Jews.

The Jew to-day is seeking to return to Palestine, to restore the balance and pick up the thread where it was cut asunder in 70. He wants to live the life of a sane, normal people and once again make a collective, national contribution to world civilization. And he is paying dearly for every inch of soil he is acquiring.

Economic necessity and wholesale extermination, religious persecution and cultural imperative are driving the Jew to his old homeland in droves, to a country largely unoccupied and vastly deserted.

If the Jews rescued by Palestine had stopped to ask: Shall we migrate to Palestine?, they might have found a haven of refuge in the nethermost regions of the high seas and in the gas chambers and and torture camera of Hitlerite Europe. "Historic instinct" is driving the Jews of Europe to Palestine, their ancestral home, waiting to receive them with open hands in the broad daylight or in the dark of night, "legally" or clandestinely—their ancestral home where they can find security for their body and peace for their soul and help in creating the

great treasurehouse of democracy, the "America" of the Middle East, for the benefit of all mankind. In Palestine the song of Judaea reverberates through the valleys and through the streets—the song of free men — in the only country where they feel masters and where the winds of discrimination will not blow. It was the Jews who made Palestine the Holy Land in the past—not the Canaanites nor the Arabs—and it is the Jews who will make it the Land of Promise for the future.

The Arabs who have occupied Palestine for the last 1300 years, under changing and Turkish hegemony, have sorely neglected the country and have contributed not a whit either to Palestine or to the world at large. The Jews are bringing in culture and civilization to Palestine and the whole Middle East. As Ramsay MacDonald wrote in 1922 after a visit to Palestine: "For the Arab leaders the Jewish immigration is the coming of the doom, and they stir up their followers to resist it . . . one (civilization) in which the feudal families settled on the land held to their traditional domination over the common people; and the other in which newcomers bring an inrush of new ideas which involve a social revolution for the whole population. The Jew inevitably has forced the pace of civilization in the country; and the Arab though anxious to get the benefits of Western material progress, dislikes to have the pace forced." Arab opposition to Zionism stems not from the Arab masses who have nothing



to lose but their shackles. It stems from the feudalistic Arab effendis who fear the loss of their vested interests and the end of their stranglehold on the Arab felaheen or peasants who live a life of utter impoverishment and strangling indebtedness.<sup>1</sup> It also stems from Arab political megalomaniacs.

"The Commission report (of 1937—J.M.R.) points out that "The daily wage paid an unskilled Arab laborer in Palestine is 100 to 180 mils, while skilled workers get from 250 to 600 mils a day. In Syria, the wage ranges from 67 mils in older industries to 124 mils in newer ones. Factory labor in Iraq is paid from 40 to 60 mils." (A mil is  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a cent at the current rates of exchange.)"<sup>2</sup> This improvement in the standard of living of many of Palestine's felaheen and laborers is a result of the Jewish influx.

"Before the riots of 1936 thousands of Arab villagers were employed at comparatively high wages in the privately owned Jewish citrus plantations of Judaea and the Sharon plain. These outside earnings helped many to pay their debts and cultivate their own holdings more profitably. Palestinian felaheen have thus found it far easier to gain economic independence than the peasants

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<sup>1</sup> "Landlords often take 55 per cent of the gross yield of the tenant farmer while the usurer is paid according to a rate of interest that runs from 25 per cent to 100 per cent in the period between sowing and harvesting." (Lowdermilk, *supra*, pp. 149-50.)

<sup>2</sup> Lowdermilk, *supra*, p. 152.

of the neighboring countries where earning opportunities are so much more limited.”<sup>3</sup>

As a result of World War I, the Arabs of the Middle East acquired over 1,000,000 square miles of independent territories in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, etc. Palestine is but a speck on the map from the standpoint of size—10,100 square miles. It is the only country ready and able to receive millions of homeless Jews. The Jews for over 50 years have prepared it for this gigantic task. In recent years when Jews were compelled by dire necessity and cruel colonial policy to enter Palestine stealthily—and many thousands succeeded in evading the immigration authorities — they received royal welcome from their Palestinian brethren; they were literally carried on shoulders. Shall the Arabs of Palestine, benefitting by Jewish immigration, stand in the way of the only solution of the world-wide Jewish problem (or rather Christian problem)?<sup>4</sup>

Viewing the magnitude and importance of the Jewish problem, its colossal dimensions and tragic depths, and the absence of an Arab problem, the Arab of Palestine must give way without any harm to himself to a case of far greater stringency, of far greater need and dire necessity, of a life and death

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<sup>3</sup> Lowdermilk, *supra*, p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that “75 per cent of the Arab population of Palestine are either immigrants themselves or descendants of persons who immigrated into Palestine during the last hundred years, for the most part after 1882.” (Frankenstein, *supra*, p. 130).

struggle on the part of the Jew. Weighing the equities: to deny the Jew admission to Palestine, is to seal his doom; to admit him to Palestine—is to give him a new lease on life. In the latter case, too, the Arab benefits more than in the former case. In neither event is he faced with any of the torturing and harrowing experiences which have confronted the Jews of Europe. The Jew is the only people without a homeland. As the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League so well phrased it in its Report of 1937: "... it should also be remembered that the collective sufferings of the Arabs and the Jews are not comparable, since vast spaces in the Near East, formerly the abode of a numerous population and the home of a brilliant civilization, are open to the former, whereas the world is increasingly being closed to settlement by the latter." The Arab has been deprived of no rights in Palestine. He was not the sovereign of the country. Turkey was when the Allies wrested the country in 1918.

Palestine since 1933 has taken in more Jews from Germany and Nazi Europe than all the democracies of the world combined. German Jews needed no longer be sold on Palestine. Immigration to the democracies is strictly regulated. The democracies have helped in the unparalleled crisis—but in comparison to the holocaust, in niggardly dimensions. One recalls the S.S. *St. Louis* which had aboard over 1,000 refugees bound for Cuba but barred entry upon arrival because of red tape or a

change of heart. For weeks these poor refugees were buffeted about on the seas and were sailing back to their doom in Fascist Europa whence they had escaped. Word finally reached them that, after strenuous intervention, the United States, Britain and Holland had decided to split them up and receive one-third each of this unfortunate human cargo.

Unfortunately, when the Jew migrates to any country where he must remain a minority race, he creates unwittingly, as Herzl stated in "*Der Judenstaat*," a new problem of anti-Semitism. The dominant race, by reason of jealousy or competition, hatred of the stranger or religious prejudice, is finally aroused—even when at first it welcomed the stranger into its midst—to action against the "foreigner" in its gate. And so a purported solution of the problem or a temporary remedy thereof in the end reverts to the original problem. The homelessness of the Jew has but one solution: a Jewish home. The Jew, like all normal peoples, must have a habitat where he is the majority race in the country. The Jew must have a social milieu where his distinctive national genius can flourish freely and securely, and he must have a voice in the council of nations. If the Jew had a voice in the council of nations by reason of an independent Jewish state or commonwealth, I venture to state that the Nazi holocaust of the Jew—a defenseless scapegoat—might in large measure have been prevented. In any event, a Jewish Palestine would

have welcomed Jews fleeing persecution in far greater numbers than a British Palestine. Weak—weak indeed—were the voices raised in the democracies against Hitler's anti-Jewish program.

The homelessness of the Jew, we posited hereinabove, has but one solution: a Jewish home. The home of the Jew can have but one habitat: Eretz Israel (Palestine). No other solution has been found in all these years of quest. The Soviet erection of a Jewish State (anti-Jewish in spirit) on the Soviet-Japanese borders in Biro-Bidjan proved a dismal failure. At best it was intended only for Jews of Soviet Russia. Jewish genius and Jewish tradition, Jewish claims and Jewish accomplishments dictate this undeviating course. Baron de Hirsch—starting in 1890—invested \$40,000,000 in Argentine as a solution of the Russian-Jewish problem and nightmare. In Fascist Argentine to-day there are, after these Herculean, well-intentioned efforts, some 45,000 Jewish colonists, of whom less than half are farmers. The spiritual bond of Israel with Eretz Israel is one of the imponderable forces of history: it will work wonders and transform deserts into garden spots in that land as it will nowhere else.

Four or five million Jews have been exterminated by Hitler in Europe—the greatest and cruellest extirpation in history, the foulest crime levelled against the Jew in his millennial-long martyred history.

The final defeat of Hitler will find European Jewry crushed. He will have attained a physical victory over the Jews of Europe. He almost succeeded in carrying out his threat to exterminate European Jewry—the only Jewry over which he had control. Hitler has tolled the knell of Jewish assimilationism in Europe. He marks the end of the Era of Emancipation on the European continent. But a million and a half Jews or so will remain on the European continent after Hitler's downfall. They were fortunate to escape or be rescued from his diabolical gas chambers and crematoriums set up in Lublin, Treblinka, Maidanek, and elsewhere. A sizeable number emanating from France, Belgium and Holland—a recent tabulation of opinion shows—will want to migrate to Palestine. But, as the tabulation further proves, the vast majority from Germany, Rumania, Poland and Hungary will not want to return to those foul lands wherein the virus of anti-Semitism will probably fester for at least a generation to come. They wish to leave forever the localities which serve as constant reminders of the inhuman deaths of their most beloved ones. They have, furthermore, been economically uprooted and dislocated. Their places and positions have been filled by "natives"—the majority people—who will not relinquish their acquisitions without producing a fresh wave of anti-Semitism. In the mad economic scramble to follow in Europe after this war, Europe's Jews will scrape

the bottom of the barrels, assuming there are any scrapings left. Pious declarations will not be worth the paper on which they are written. And the 100,000 or so Jewish orphans in Europe must have a chance to start life anew in their own homeland, freed from the stalking terrors and nightmares of their most impressionable years.

The world now has an unprecedented opportunity of expiating for its centuries-old inhuman treatment of the Jew as a scapegoat for all its ills and its inner maladies and neuroses. The enforced experiment of the Jew to be an internationalist has failed. The world has been barbarically unripe and the Jew should no longer stretch out his neck to his primitive hosts and inhuman slaughterers. It is true that internationalism is the highest goal and ideal of man since the days of the Prophets, but it certainly does not presuppose the extinction of the Jew. Internationalism can be built only on the solid structure of free and democratic nations. Internationalism does not imply the destruction of nations, but rather the reign of justice and solidarity among nations. The uprooted Jew, no less than those who already are rooted in their soil, is entitled to his niche in the family of nations. He too wishes to await and fight—as has been his wont—for the dawn of an internationalist society—but as a living species, not as a corpse.

It is a Zionist thesis that Zionism will solve in great measure European anti-Semitism. The crea-

tion of a Jewish State will also add dignity and self-respect to Jewries everywhere.

It would be a sad mistake indeed for the Allies to sacrifice the Jewish State on the altar of oil. The exploitation of the Jew would be far costlier in the long run to humanity's morale and conscience and to the world's peace than the exploitation of oil in Saudi Arabia would be gainful to the Allies, including our own U.S.A., which was contemplating the erection of huge pipe lines from Saudi Arabia to the Mediterranean. The befriending of King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia does not necessitate the alienation of the Jew.<sup>1</sup> A firm stand and a firm word by the Allies relative to a Jewish

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<sup>1</sup> A joint resolution before the U. S. Congress since 1943, favoring a democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine and calling upon Great Britain to abrogate the White Paper of 1939, found overwhelming support in both Houses, but was tabled at first on the intervention of the military leaders for "military reasons," and later, when the military situation had cleared, on the intervention of the State Department, for "diplomatic reasons." President Roosevelt and later President Truman, however, declared themselves wholeheartedly in favor of Zionist aims and their fulfillment at "the proper time." Both the Democratic and Republican parties in their National Platforms of 1944 endorsed the present day maximum Zionist demands for Palestine.

The Churchill War Cabinet has been implementing the White Paper of 1939. The Churchill of 1939, upon assuming the reins of power, as has happened before, merged his identity with the Colonial Office's misdirection of Palestinian affairs. In a recent speech before Commons, he stated that the Palestine issue had been deferred until after the war. Will this self-proclaimed "architect of the Jewish future," if retained in office after the termination of hostilities, help forge the Jewish future in accordance with its manifest destiny and as he himself had prophesied?



State will re-echo and be respected in the Arabic world.

The curse of Cain is still upon Europe. Brotherly solidarity is unknown on the European continent. "Am I my brother's keeper?" is Europe's watchword. Until Europe learns the lesson of brotherly solidarity and humanity, so long will it be immersed in bloodshed, rapine and misery.

No! The way to freedom and self-respect for Europe's dispossessed Jews lies via Palestine only. When Spanish Jewry was expelled from Inquisitorial Spain in 1492 it vowed never to return to that accursed soil. It adhered to that formal oath (with the exception of some 2,000 Jews presently in Spain due to the European holocaust). The Jews of Middle Europe too have decided by an informal oath not to return to their accursed homelands. Control over the natural resources of Palestine and their fullest development, and control over immigration and land colonization, must be vested in the Jewish Agency for Palestine by the mandatory in order to realize Palestine's fullest potentialities. An international loan, and a sequestration of Nazi moneys and properties in Palestine as part reparation for Nazi despoliations and murders of Jews in Germany, must be placed at the command of the Jewish Agency in order to make possible a mass-scale transportation of European Jews to Palestine in the course of the next few years. Europe has had similar experiences in the vast scale transfers

of populations, such as of Greeks and Turks, following the first World War. These are some of the legitimate demands to-day of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. If Britain will not live up to the terms of the mandate, then for Heaven's sake let her abdicate her trusteeship in Palestine and turn it over to the new League of Nations, which will evolve as a result of World War II, for reassignment to another democracy which will abide by its terms, or to an international trusteeship. But if Britain will not do this voluntarily, this course should be dictated by the concerted democracies of the world.

The civilized world must help Jewry solve the Christian problem of Europe by abrogating the vicious White Paper of 1939, by permitting unlimited immigration into and colonization of Palestine and re-establishing it as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

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Some of these books, representing a fraction of the vast Zionist literature, contain many more extensive bibliographies in their appendices.

## ERRATA

- PG. 14, LINE 11—"Ueberwerthung der Werthe" should read: *Umwertung aller Werte*.
- PG. 23, LINE 22—"The Jordan traverses the length of the country."—This sentence should read as follows: *The Jordan which rises in the spurs of Mount Hermon in the north, flows through Lake Huleh and the Sea of Galilee and traverses the length of the country until it finally empties into the Dead Sea in the south.*
- PG. 23, LINES 27-8—"In some respects it is even superior by reason of the geologic formation of its rocks."—This sentence should read as follows: *In some respects Palestine is superior to Southern California by reason of the geologic formation of its rocks.* (See notes, pp. 234-5.)
- PG. 56, LINE 5—Add this line after the words "day in Palestine": *But this small practical colonization differed from that which preceded it since it was not only animated by a vision and a will to build a Jewish Commonwealth on the basis of collective Jewish effort divorced from philanthropy and from cheap Arab labor, but it also had the means to succeed in laying its foundations.*
- PG. 67, LINE 21—Add this line after the words "the Vaad Leumi schools": *In 1942, the Vaad Leumi had 437 schools with 62, 807 pupils in attendance.*
- PG. 67, LINE 28—Add after the words "through their taxes," the following words: *namely, 70% thereof.*
- PG. 68, LINE 14—"and inventor of the famous Palestinian pioneering dance, the Hora" should read: *and composer of the 'Niggun Bialik' or Bialik Melody, sung to the famous Palestinian pioneering dance, the Hora.*
- PG. 154, LINE 16—"implicit" should read: *explicit.*
- PG. 186, LINE 17—"or about 1,600,000 dunams"—This should read: *or about 6,500,000 acres.*

## NOTES

### PAGE 1

(a) Ur of the Chaldees was a city on the western bank of the Euphrates River in ancient Babylonia (which is now a part of Iraq).

(b) Palestine is the name given to the country by the Romans. It had previously been known as Canaan. The Jews call it in Hebrew Eretz Israel, the Land of Israel.

### PAGE 4

(a) "The daily life of the Jew and all his liturgy were saturated with thousands of references to and reminders of Zion and the Temple at Jerusalem."—The innumerable reminders of Zion in the daily life of the Jew were not even sealed with death, as in the coffin of the pious Jew a handful of the soil of Palestine accompanied him upon his eternal journey.

(b) A "Shearith Israel" always remained and lived in Palestine. Several times in Mediaeval Europe, Jews were banned en masse from whole countries, such as England, France, Spain. In some of these countries Jews became unknown for whole generations. In Palestine, however, the Jewish foot, no matter how shrunken, never left its soil ever since the Jew had become sovereign of the country.

### PAGE 5

The legend relative to Jehuda ha-Levi adds that the Arab horseman, after trampling him under foot, stabbed him to death.

## PAGE 8

As early as the days of Mordecai Manuel Noah, the disintegration of the Turkish Empire seemed within the realm of possibility. Such a dénouement would lend feasibility to the idea of a restoration of Palestine to the Jew. In 1844 Noah delivered an address entitled "Discourse on the Restoration of the Jews," in which he called upon Christian America to aid the Jew in restoring Palestine. He made the significant remark in this discourse relative to the Messiah, that "if he has not come, we are bound to seek him, not here, but in our own land, which has been given to us as a perpetual inheritance, and which we dare not surrender without at once surrendering our faith." Noah's idea was a haven of refuge on Grand Island to be followed later by a restoration of Palestine to the Jew. In this sense he was a precursor of Political Zionism.

## PAGE 10

"In 1852 an Englishman, Hollingworth, published a pamphlet in which he urged the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine as a safeguard for the overland route to India."—England has been in India since the eighteenth century when the British East India Company acquired political control and commercial rights in many parts of India. England defeated France in their rivalry for India. England continued to gain more and more control of the country with the passage of time. In 1858 as a result of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, England took India over from the hands of the British East India Company and sent a Viceroy to govern most of the country. Native princes in some parts of India were allowed to keep their thrones upon acknowledging British control. In 1877 Queen Victoria became Empress of all India. Although some progress has been brought about in India by the British, it is incontrovertible that their

chief interest in that country has been of an imperialistic nature.

## PAGE 11

(a) The Jews of Germany both in their assimilation and in their orthodoxy went to greater extremes than did the Jews of the other Western European countries.

(b) The Damascus Blood Libel of 1840 referred to in the footnote of this page and the Damascus Affair of 1860 referred to on pg. 16 are two different episodes, unrelated one to the other.

## PAGE 13

It is not to be imagined that Rabbi Kalischer in his re-interpretation of Messianism relinquished the belief in the eventual advent of a personal Messiah. But he reinterpreted the belief to require the restoration of Palestine by the natural agency of man as an antecedent to the advent of the Messiah.

## PAGE 16

Edgar Mortara, after baptism by his Catholic nurse, was forcibly placed in a monastery by papal gendarmes.

## PAGE 20

(a) For a further discussion of Territorialism, see pages 42, 222, 223 and the notes to page 42.

(b) Kattowitz, also known as Katowice, where the Chovevei Zion movement was federated in 1884, is a city in Prussian Silesia. A conference of the nature held in Kattowitz would have been forbidden in Russia. The Chovevei Zion had units in most of the countries of Europe as well as in the United States.

(c) "Pinsker, like Herzl, had grand political ideas but apparently lacked Herzl's genius. Pinsker had to remain sated with the relatively small accomplishments of the Chovevei Zion."—In addition, Pinsker was a Russian citizen. The Chovevei Zion were an illegal group in Russia. This was probably another factor contributing to Pinsker's inability to start a political action, as he should have liked to. It was only in 1890 that the Chovevei Zion were legalized in Russia, after assuming the innocuous, philanthropic name, dissociated from all political content, of "Society for the Relief of Jewish Agriculturists and Artisans in Syria and Palestine."

For a full discussion of the Chovevei Zion and Herzl, see the following two chapters and the notes thereto.

#### PAGE 21

(a) As stated above, the Chovevei Zion had units in most of the countries of Europe as well as in the United States.

(b) I seem to have coined the noun: Biluists. In my search I have come across the designation of the members of BILU as either BILUS or BILUIM, the Hebrew plural of BILU, but never BILUISTS. I believe that "BILUISTS" is a proper English rendering of the Hebrew "BILUIM." In my humble opinion, a member of the BILU movement should be called in Hebrew a BILUI (instead of a BILU) on the analogy of a member of or believer in the Zion movement who is called in Hebrew a ZIONI. The Hebrew plural "ZIONIM" is rendered into English as ZIONISTS.

#### PAGE 23

(a) The River Jordan rises in the spurs of Mount Hermon in the north. It flows through Lake Huleh and the Sea of Galilee and finally empties into the Dead Sea in the south.

(b) "In some respects it is even superior by reason of the geologic formation of its rocks."—In the context this



would seem to refer to the Valley of Jezreel as being superior to the Royal Valley of California. This is in error. What was meant to be conveyed was that Palestine in some respects is even superior to Southern California by reason of the geologic formation of its rocks.

"Although Southern California is much larger in area and structure than Palestine, it is a remarkable counterpart in many respects of the Holy Land . . . The outstanding difference between the two areas is their geologic structure, and in this respect Palestine is more favored. The formations of limestone underlying its hills dissolve into labyrinths of underground channels, which take in much of the winter rains and lead them in time to come forth as great springs in the depths of the valleys. On the other hand, Southern California, with its complex of igneous and gneissic rocks which are impenetrable to rain water, does not possess big springs in its mountain valleys, and the residual soils on the slopes are too thin for cultivation." (Lowdermilk, *supra*, pp. 39-40.)

## PAGE 26

"They were inexperienced in the ways of agriculture and they had to compete with the Arab felaheen (peasants) whose standard of living was low."—On the land of Mikveh Israel forty native Arab peasants were employed. In addition to their low standard of living, these Arabs had their own little homes and gardens. Their employment at Mikveh Israel insured them additional income. The Biluists had to rent their lodgings. And one can readily realize that it is no facile matter for university students to become inured to back-breaking manual work.

## PAGE 27

"These emigrants together with the five hundred odd Biluists constitute the "First Aliyah"—Ascent—or the first

wave of immigration to Palestine in modern times."—A few of the Biluists who could not endure the bleak existence and the almost inhuman hardships emigrated from Palestine.

#### PAGES 28-9

" . . . the ICA, the Jewish Colonization Association—founded in 1889 by Baron de Hirsch whose agricultural philanthropies and interests centered in Argentina."—Baron de Hirsch was opposed to Political Zionism when it strode into the Jewish horizon and onto the arena of world diplomacy. Theodore Herzl was unable to win him over to the new, revolutionary movement. They met—then parted ways. For a further discussion of Argentina and Baron de Hirsch, see pages 222-3.

#### PAGE 29

(a) Not all the Rothschild colonies remained under his control or that of his agencies. In 1907, some of the colonies were turned over to the colonists themselves who thereafter assumed full control. In 1911 the Wine Growers' Association of Rishon leZion and Zichron Yakov paid off approximately half a million francs (\$100,000.) of their indebtedness to the Baron.

(b) "It (ICA) created a model farm at Sedjera in Lower Galilee to train Jewish farmers who thereafter could settle on land of the villages it founded near Tiberias. Sedjera can in a measure be considered the forerunner of the future "Kvutzoth" or communes in Palestine."—See pp. 31, 180-3.

Although a model farm was created at Sedjera, the farmers were not thereafter set up in collective or co-operative settlements, but in individualistic farms. These individualistic farms were breeders of a land plutocracy with land barons employing cheap Arab labor, and not conducive to the establishing of a Jewish commonwealth. The sole exception in Sedjera was a group of young men and women of

the second Aliyah (Ascent) who for one and a half years worked Sedjera land as a collective successfully and demonstrated the inherent potentialities of a commune in the evolution of an independent farmer class in Palestine. In this respect, Sedjera was the forerunner of the Kvutzoth or communes which were to spring up over Palestine, starting with Daganian in 1909. The commune at Sedjera was conducted as an experiment in the years 1908-9.

## PAGE 38

"He (Baron Edmond de Rothschild) was known among the Jews by the affectionate title of "*Hanadiv* (*The Philanthropist*)."—He was also called "*Hanadiv Hayudua*" (*The Well-known Philanthropist*).

## PAGE 38

"The "*Judenstaat*" projects the foundation of a "*Society of Jews*" and a "*Jewish Company*" as the two instrumentalities of State-building."—The "*Society of Jews*" evolved into the World Zionist Organization; the "*Jewish Company*" into the Jewish Colonial Trust. (See below in body of book.)

## PAGE 39

The change which has been wrought since Herzl's days is apparent in the reversal in policy of the Central Conference of American Rabbis which has in our days voted, by substantial majorities at its conventions, in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. A vociferous minority, however, together with some wealthy, assimilationist laymen has formed the American Council for Judaism to combat Zionism.

## PAGE 41

(a) "He (Nordau) absented himself from the Congress of 1913 in view of the fact that Professor Otto War-

burg, who had assumed the Presidency of the organization in 1911, was an out-and-out "Practical" Zionist with no political élan, such as possessed Nordau."—For a discussion of "Practical Zionism" versus "Political Zionism," see p. 56.

(b) "After World I, he (Nordau) favored a mass emigration of one half million Jews from Eastern Europe to Palestine and was disappointed in the slow action of the Zionist Organization."—The Zionists countered that they neither had the funds for such a mass movement nor was the country ready and prepared then to absorb such large numbers. That there may have been some validity to the Zionists' contention, see what happened with the Fourth Aliyah, pp. 105-6, when the country was ill-adapted for a sudden, large increase and economic conditions were unregulated.

#### PAGE 42

(a) In 1905 Zangwill formed the International Territorial Organization, commonly referred to by its initials as the ITO. It sought after territories for Jewish people, no matter where: Canada, Mesopotamia, Australia, Cyrenai-ca, etc. etc. In 1918, after the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, the ITO finally dissolved.

For a discussion of the Uganda territorial offer to the Zionists, see pp. 47-9.

It may be noted here that Zangwill in breaking with the Zionist Organization, at times was too sardonic in his attacks upon the movement of his former allegiance.

(b) "He (Zangwill) felt that Zionism had fallen under the sway of Achad Ha-am, father of "Cultural Zionism" and had become diluted and emasculated."—For a discussion of Achad Ha-am and "Cultural Zionism," see pp. 196-200.

Achad Haam is also written: Ahad Ha-am, and Ha-am is sometimes written Ha'am.

## PAGE 43

(a) Herzl stated that if Jewish financiers had heeded his call for funds with which to acquire a charter from Turkey over Palestine, the Jews could have acquired Palestine in 1901.

(b) Herzl founded a newspaper, "Die Welt," as the mouthpiece of the World Zionist Organization.

(c) The 'Hatikvah,' national Hebrew anthem, composed by the Hebrew poet, Naphtali Herz Imber (1856-1909), became recognized as such throughout the Jewries of the world after it was popularized by unofficial recognition at the First World Zionist Congress by being sung at its sessions.

(d) The Jewish flag (white ground, two blue stripes, 6-pointed shield of David in the center) is said to have been suggested by Wolffsohn at the First World Zionist Congress, who held up the traditional prayer-shawl, the talith, and said: This is our national flag.

## PAGE 47

The Uganda Charter, interestingly enough, was drawn up by Lloyd George, lawyer and M.P. at that time. Lloyd George also had incorporated the Jewish National Fund (See p. 53). It was he who was Prime Minister at the issuance of the Balfour Declaration.

## PAGE 51

Prior to the summoning of the First World Zionist Congress, by reason of Herzl's attack upon the slow methods of infiltration of the Chovevei Zion, the groups in England and in France refused to participate in the First Congress and

portions of the Russian Chovevei Zion too were against the Congress for the same reason. They came in later.

It should be noted that during Herzl's incumbency as President of the World Zionist Organization, as a result of his insistence upon political action and his opposition to small practical work, hardly any practical work was undertaken in Palestine. Towards the end of his days, some Zionists were becoming restless, and Ussishkin used the Uganda dispute as a springboard to call together a Zionist Congress in Palestine of Palestinians and also to make some land purchases. Herzl considered this a breach of discipline and it incurred his animosity.

The reservoir of Zionist strength in those days—both spiritual and manpower—came from Russia and Poland. When the Bolsheviki in 1917 seized power in Russia, this great reservoir was cut off from Zionism, which became taboo in Soviet Russia.

#### PAGE 55

The Jewish National Fund to-day (1945) owns about 45% of the Jewishly owned land in Palestine. The balance is divided between PICA and several thousand private owners. PICA owns to-day about 17% of the Jewish land, and private owners about 38%. A year ago (1944) the figures stood: JNF: 35%; PICA: 20%; private owners: 45%.

The Jewish National Fund leases are automatically renewable for a similar period, usually 49 years, after their expiration. A moderate annual rent, about 2% of the land value, is paid.

#### PAGE 56

The precipitating cause of the split between the "Practicals" and the "Politicals" was the Uganda issue. As a result of this issue, the "Practicals" came out from hibernation and

began to insist upon practical colonization in Palestine. Immediately after Herzl's death, the "Practicals" and the "Politicals" were evenly divided in the Administration, an equal number of each being elected, and the result was a stalemate. A year later, the "Practicals" began to acquire a majority and so won out. Chaim Weizmann, who was to play so prominent a part subsequently in Political Zionism, was one of those who believed in what he called "Synthetic Zionism"—a fusion of "Practical" and "Political" Zionism. He was also a leader of the so-called "Democratic Fraction" (See p. 198).

## PAGE 58

From the Second Aliyah starting in 1904 to the Third Aliyah starting in 1919 (see p. 104) only 6 collective colonies were founded in Palestine. The collective colonies began to be established in full blast and in all earnestness from 1919 on.

## PAGES 58-60

The members of the Second Aliyah, numbering about one thousand, had a hard time of it in the beginning when they first landed upon the shores of Palestine. Not all stayed on. They insisted upon obtaining work from the new Jewish land "plutocracy" which was employing cheap Arab labor. They demanded this right in the name of The National Renaissance, whose vanguard they professed to be. Their clashes with the land "barons" led to frequent strikes and picketings, etc. Shortly thereafter—in 1907—the Zionist Organization opened up its Palestine Department. These Chaltzim responded very eagerly to the call of the Zionist Organization for training on its farms and for a collective colonization.

The year of the opening up of the Palestine Department—1907—was also the year in which the Jewish National Fund began to purchase land in Palestine. The resolution of 1901

founding the Jewish National Fund had provided for the collection of \$1,000,000. before any land purchases were to be made. However, impatience and the victory of the "Practicals" dictated a change in policy, so that in 1907, with an aggregate of \$300,000. collected up to that date, the Jewish National Fund started its first investments in Palestine land.

## PAGE 62

"It (Hadassah) dispatched a Medical Unit of doctors and nurses to Palestine."—This was done in 1920.

## PAGE 64

(a) Moses Montefiore (1784-1885), great British Jew, outstanding philanthropist, grand old man, endower of charitable institutions and other undertakings in Palestine, was also the moving spirit in the establishment of several schools in that country by other philanthropists, such as the Evelyn de Rothschild School in Jerusalem conducted in English, etc. He was by nature a *Shtadlon*, or Jewish millionaire who, without specific mandate, importuned many of Europe's royalty in behalf of the oppressed Jewish masses in their hours of trial. He negotiated with Mehemed Ali, the Egyptian pretender, for a colonizing company of \$5,000,000. to colonize in Palestine. But Ali lost title to his country and was relieved of what might have been an embarrassing responsibility to fulfill the promises he had given Montefiore. The Sultan was altogether adverse to selling or leasing any land to foreigners. Montefiore required the intervention of the British Foreign Office for permission to build houses and gardens on land outside Jaffa Gate. He opened up a sewing school for girls. He bought an orange grove near Jaffa. In Galilee he helped a considerable number of men to acquire land. But, somehow or other, his enterprises had no lasting value. They went up as in smoke. He has since been criticized for his



blunders and those of his managers. Had he been asked to undertake a political action, he most certainly would have looked askance at the inquirer and condemned his impolitic thought. In part, his period was not ripe for the production of a man of a political élan. In part, his personality was instinct with the psychology of a *Shtadlon*.

Montefiore has been called by some "The First Zionist." Others have disputed the appropriateness of this attribution. These others feel, despite his warm heart and pulse throbbing for his suffering co-religionists, that an evaluation of both his spirit and of his lack of any lasting accomplishments in Palestine should negative the bestowal of this title upon Montefiore.

(b) The first Jewish High School in Palestine, the Jaffa Gymnasium, was named after Herzl, "Herzliah."

#### PAGE 66

It is worthy of note that the Hebrew tongue is one of the most concise languages. Three or four words in another tongue are expressed by one word in Hebrew. Thus: "In the beginning" is translated "Bereshith;" "And he spoke"—"Vayedaber," etc. etc.

#### PAGE 67

"In 1935, 32,788 pupils attended the Vaad Leumi schools."—These figures are already obsolete, except for comparative purposes. In 1942, the Vaad Leumi had 437 schools with 62,807 pupils in attendance. The other schools alluded to in the text accounted for another 25,000 pupils .

#### PAGE 68

"Illiteracy has been vast among the Arabs."—85% of Arab men and 93% of Arab women are illiterate, according

to figures cited before the Peel Commission of 1937 by Dr. Totah, Nationalist agitator.

## PAGE 74

(a) Vladimir Jabotinsky was born in 1880 and died in 1940.

(b) The Jewish Legion comprised thousands of Jewish volunteers. It consisted of three battalions: the 38th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers; the 39th and 40th Battalions. The 38th, subtitled The Judaeans, was the first to leave for Palestine.

The British Government had promised the Jewish Legionnaires to settle them on Government land upon the termination of hostilities, but it never lived up to its promise.

## PAGE 80

The first Jew to propose a Hebrew University was Professor Hermann Schapira, Mathematics Professor at Heidelberg, the proponent of the Jewish National Fund (See pg. 52). He suggested it at the Kattowitz Conference of 1884 (See pg. 20). He again advanced it at the First World Zionist Congress.

In 1941, the University had about 1,400 students, including a few Arabs, and over 100 professors, lecturers and assistants, exclusive of technical and administrative workers.

An undergraduate medical college is in contemplation, but a post-graduate medical school is already in existence as a unit of the University. During World War II, there were added an Institute of Agriculture and a Museum of Archeology. It is endowed principally by "Friends of the Hebrew University," societies by that name existing in many lands.

The library of the Hebrew University in 1941 comprised approximately 400,000 volumes in all languages.

## PAGES 88-9

The McMahon letter of October 24, 1915 to King Hussein, supporting the independence of Arab states, adds the following significant exceptions: "The districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and the portions of Syria lying to the west of the district of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab and should therefore be excluded from the proposed limits and boundaries." This is well analysed by Ernest Main, *supra*, pg. 78. Says Mr. Main: "It (Jerusalem—JMR) cannot be described as falling within the district of Damascus,—for the vilayet of Damascus included only Transjordan and did not extend west of the river. Under the Ottomans the north of Palestine formed part of the vilayet of Beyrouth while Jerusalem was an independent sanjak, communicating directly with the Ministry of the Interior at Constantinople. The whole of Palestine, it is clear, thus falls to the west of the district of Damascus and is therefore expressly excluded from the scope of the MacMahon pledge." It should be noted that under the Ottomans, Palestine was considered a part of Greater Syria. All the Arab references to independence and their entire interest in the seaboard region were directed to Damascus, never to Jerusalem. Even when Jerusalem fell, the Arabs were not jubilant nor issued any declaration relative thereto. According to Main, however, there may have been a clash between the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon Pledge with respect to Transjordan only—and that was in 1922 resolved in favor of the Arabs.

## PAGE 90

"In April of 1920 the San Remo Conference awarded a mandate over Palestine to Great Britain."—This award, although not then reduced to documentary form, included Transjordan in the territory of Palestine.

## PAGE 91

(a) "The mandate as adopted had twenty-eight articles."  
—The mandate text originally submitted to the League of Nations had twenty-seven articles. The last minute, a new article with respect to Transjordan, incorporated as Article 25, was added. So that the mandate as adopted had twenty-eight articles.

(b) France was insistent that the question of the Syrian mandate be finally settled before it would ratify the Palestine Mandate in the Council of the League of Nations.

## PAGE 91

"Fifty-two nations endorsed the mandate . . ." Fifty-one nation members of the League and the United States, thus making a total of fifty-two nations, endorsed the mandate. It is not fifty-two nations exclusive of the United States.

## PAGE 94

I quote from Ernest Main, *supra*, pp. 37-8, f. n.:

"The Mufti, Haj Amin al Husseini, it is not generally known, was a nonentity until 1920, when his inciting Press articles and speeches brought him to the fore . . . he was put forward in 1922 as a candidate for the presidency of the Moslem Supreme Council. In this election he was fifth, whereas the final selection by the High Commissioner is from the first four. The fourth, Jarallah, was persuaded to withdraw, and Haj Amin, thus taking his place in the first four, was appointed . . . He is neither learned nor pious. When he found that he was in the running for his present exalted position he went for a few months to Al Azhar University in Cairo, but never obtained a diploma."

It was fatuous of Samuel to believe that by appeasing Husseini, he would effectively remove him as an opponent of the government.

As president of the Moslem Supreme Council, the Mufti has complete control of the Waqf, the pious and charitable Moslem endowments. He need account to no one. This is an unusual situation, for in all other Moslem countries, an accounting must be made to the government. As a matter of fact, the Nashashibis in Palestine have frequently accused the Mufti of misappropriating Waqf funds for his own purposes.

Main's reference hereinabove to the candidates for the office of President of the Moslem Supreme Council, or the Supreme Moslem Council, refers equally to the office of Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. The elections and subsequent appointment by the High Commissioner from the four highest candidates were for the same candidates running simultaneously for both offices.

#### PAGE 97

(a) Article 2 of the Mandate, *inter alia*, calls for "the development of self-governing institutions." Certainly before England could hope to cope with this program of developing self-governing institutions, she would have to do something to remedy the vast Arab illiteracy in Palestine of 85% of its males and 93% of its females. The Samuel-proposed Legislative Council in 1922 and the resurrected Wauchope-proposed Legislative Council in 1935 were therefore entirely premature for a country so socially and educationally backward. The Council would anyway have been but a farce, as the Arabs would have utilized it for but one purpose: opposition to the National Home and the Mandate.

The Arabs boycotted the 1922 elections. The Government thereupon annulled the elections. The Advisory Council was then revived, with a reduction of the Jewish representation in it.

The Arabs' unpreparedness for the democratic process is

apparent from the following. "The Palestine Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934 provided for twenty-four municipalities, and one (a Jewish one) has been added since. The Palestine Blue Book for 1934 (pp. 107 et seq.) gives details of the voting in all these municipal areas, excepting Jerusalem and Ramallah. In two of them there were no elections because there was no one qualified to vote. In Nablus, Tiberias, Lydda, and Bethlehem all the candidates were returned unopposed. In Ramleh there was one contest in six wards, seventy two votes being recorded . . . In the case of rural areas, which, it must be remembered, comprise about 75 % of the Arab population of the country, the Arab record of voting in recent years is even worse than in the towns . . ." (Main, *supra*, p. 132).

Continues Main:

"The situation was summed up succinctly by Dr. Drummond Shiels in the House of Commons (Hansard, March 24, 1936, col. 1121), when he said:

"I am convinced that any legislative body in Palestine at this time is a mistake. I am not influenced by the objections of the Jewish authorities, which are natural enough, but because I believe that the effective development of local self-governing bodies should precede any national or State legislature . . . In Palestine, apart from Jerusalem and Haifa, and, of course, Tel Aviv, there is little development of municipalities and local councils. Those already in being have been most useful in enabling Arabs and Jews to work out together solutions to their common problems. Let this process continue and extend, and in good time there will be a reservoir of available representatives with some experience of administration, who can be elected, on a constituency basis, to serve the whole community." (Main, *supra*, pp. 133-4.)

(b) There are about 100,000 Christian Arabs in Palestine.

## PAGE 98

(a) "England then crowned Feisal King of Iraq."—England had shortly before crowned Feisal's brother, Abdullah, King of Iraq. When Feisal was driven out of Syria by the French, the English crowned him King of Iraq, to appease him. This incensed Abdullah, who immediately gathered together a small army to take over Syria. To appease Abdullah, England granted his Transjordania.

(b) Reference is made to England's "anti-Gallic policy in the Middle East." It is well known that England and France have been rivals for commercial mastery in the Middle East.

## PAGE 100

Not only in 1921 did the Palestine Government violate the terms of the Mandate calling for close settlement of Jews on State lands. In several instances since the ratification of the Mandate the Palestine Government has honored this provision in the breach.

## PAGE 103

(a) "The first Zionist Conference after the War, held in London in 1920, founded and set up the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) . . ."—No World Zionist Congresses, by reason of the war, were held between 1913 and 1921, but in 1920 a World Zionist Conference—an interim gathering called together in alternate years between Congresses—convened. The First World Zionist Congress after the War gathered in 1921.

(b) Until the Keren Hayesod was founded, its activities were carried out in part by the Keren Kayemeth l'Israel, the Jewish National Fund.

(c) The formation of the Keren Hayesod led in 1921 to

a split in American Zionism. Justice Brandeis and his group were of the opinion that Palestine could be built up not through public funds, but through large private capital investments. They felt that public funds—like the Keren Hayesod—should play a secondary role. The forces marshalled behind the instrumentalities of the public funds were the victors. These forces too favored private capital but felt that the country could be made attractive to private capital only when fructified by the passion of the Chalutzim with the people's moneys. Justice Brandeis and his colleagues formed private corporations for Palestinian investments—such as, the Palestine Economic Corporation of America (PEC—see p. 178). Their instrumentalities have done useful work in Palestine but have not disproved the wisdom of founding the Keren Hayesod. As a matter of fact, the joint public funds' investments have exceeded the capital brought in by the Brandeis group. The rift between the two groups was in the course of the years healed and the Brandeis group, which left the Zionist Organization, gradually began drifting back into its ranks, one by one.

(d) Reference is made in the footnote to the Huleh Concession. See pg. 133.

#### PAGE 104

The Second Aliyah numbered about 1,000; the Third Aliyah about 45,000, most of them Chalutzim. Although the designation "Chalutzim" is fully as applicable to the pioneers of the Second Aliyah as to those of the Third Aliyah, nevertheless apparently by reason of the fact of numbers, it has more often been attached to the Third Aliyah than to the Second Aliyah.

#### PAGE 109

(a) Haifa, of such strategic importance to the British Empire, particularly after the weakening of the British hold



on Egypt, is to-day a predominantly Jewish city. A city with a definite majority of Arabs in previous years, Haifa has in recent years had a definite majority of Jews.

(b) The Jews in Palestine have been plying trades barred to them for generations. Thus, in Palestine to-day there is a Palestine Maritime League, formed in 1938. There were in that year 1,500 Jewish fishermen. Subsequently the Atid Navigation Co. was founded and it has a merchant marine conducting a coastal service between Palestine, Egypt, Cyprus and Turkey.

#### PAGE 111

The Palestine Government has been able to furnish no satisfactory explanation to the League why it continues to adhere to the open-door policy of undifferentiated tariffs with respect to Japan, even though the latter resigned from the League of Nations in 1935 and has been dumping its coolie merchandise into Palestine and receiving a pittance of Palestine's merchandise in return.

Article 18 of the Mandate seems to have been enacted as a result of President Wilson's great hopes for the open door policy among the nations of the world. But in a world of protective tariffs and quotas, there is no justification for a continuation of this policy. It acts as a stranglehold on the natural expansion of industry. In new countries infant industries always receive the benefit of protective tariffs until they can stand on their own feet. But the British Government has made no effort to remedy this anomalous situation.

#### PAGE 113

Kotel Ma'arabi or Kotel Maarabi or Western Wall is also called the Wailing Wall, since pious Jews from time immemorial have bewailed at that Wall the loss of their Temple and country.

## PAGES 120-1

For a number of barbed quotations indicating the anti-Zionist or anti-Semitic bias of many in the Colonial Office, see William Ziff, *supra*, pp. 205-8.

## PAGE 126

The name "Hauranis" for Arab immigrants into Palestine derives from a district in Syria, Hauran, whence many Arabs have streamed into Palestine. The term "Hauranis" has become generic to cover all Arab immigrants into Palestine no matter wherefrom.

## PAGE 133

Huleh is the Arab name of the historic Lake of Merom. The Syrian Arab concessionaires paid the government \$25,000 for the Huleh concession. The concession was purchased by Jewish bodies in 1934 for close to a million dollars. The area includes 57,500 dunams (14,500 acres). "If malaria is to be completely wiped out in the vicinity of the Huleh, not only the concession area but some 50,00 dunams north of it must be drained and irrigated. Part of this area has been acquired by the Jewish colonizing agencies in anticipation of future amelioration work; other parts have been included in the Huleh reclamation plans by order of the government. Thus the area to be reclaimed from waste and disease will exceed 100,000 dunams or 25,000 acres and may in time become the most fertile and thickly settled agricultural district in Palestine." (Lowdermilk, *supra*, p. 144).

## PAGE 134

For a discussion of the Legislative Council in Palestine, see pp. 247-8 of the Notes.

## PAGE 137

"Instead, Jews laid the foundations of many new colonies . . . in the course of one night."

I quote from Lowdermilk, *supra*, pp. 139-141:

"During the last few years the Zionist colonizing agencies, encouraged by the success of Kiriath Anavim, have established a number of farm settlements in the hills of Galilee near the Syrian border. We visited these young villages in 1939 and were particularly impressed by one of the most heroic of them, Hanita, founded in 1938 at the height of the Arab riots. It was established on 4,000 dunams of land, of which 2500 were considered suitable for cultivation and the rest were to be devoted to afforestation and pasture.

"Situated near the border over which terrorists constantly made their way into Palestine, Hanita had to be strongly fortified from the very beginning. It was set up in a few hours during a dark night. In addition to its eighty settlers, four hundred young people—all volunteers from towns and older settlements—came on trucks laden with wood, barbed wire and agricultural instruments. They arrived at the site late at night and immediately got to work. When the Arabs of the neighboring villages awoke the next morning, they could scarcely believe their eyes. On what had always been a waste and unpopulated stretch of land there stood a wooden stockade enclosing barracks, tents and a high watchtower on which a powerful telescope and searchlight were mounted. Impressed by the display of energy, the villagers made the best of it. By noon their elders following the custom of the land, came to congratulate the new neighbors and were cordially received with black coffee and sweets. A few days later those who had come to help in the establishment of Hanita left for their homes and the young pioneers were on their own. Each member, regardless of sex, was assigned a specific location behind the stockade in case of attack, and by day and night constant watch was kept from the high tower.

This "Commando" method of establishing villages was used regularly during the dark years of 1936-39. There were, as a matter of fact, several night attacks on guards and patrols at Hanita during its early years, and the little cemetery contains the graves of three victims. But the settlers stood firm and repulsed all later attacks without loss to themselves . . . "

## PAGE 144

The Peel Commission "drafted its plan hurriedly and without expert advice on the technical matters involved." (Hanna, *supra*, p. 130). In addition to the three regions recommended by the Commission, as set forth in the text of this book, it also suggested that Nazareth, the Sea of Galilee and a strategic area at the head of the Gulf of 'Aqaba near the Red Sea be permanently included in the Jerusalem district to be permanently mandated to England.

## PAGES 145-6

I quote Hanna, *supra*, pp. 138-9:

"It (the Woodhead Commission) showed that under the Peel proposals the Jewish State would have a population of 304,900 Jews and 294,700 Arabs, or an Arab minority of 49 per cent, and that the Jews would possess 1,140,200 dunams of land and the Arabs 3,854,700 dunams. Under these circumstances, with an exchange of populations excluded by the small number of Jews left to the Arab state, the Jewish-Arab problem, even assuming the Arabs outside did not regard the Hebrew state as an irredenta, would not have been solved but merely transferred to a smaller area. The commission therefore decided that the Peel plan was impracticable and presented two possible alternatives for consideration in case the government determined to adhere to some form of partition. Under the first (Plan B), the Jewish state would be reduced in size by

the addition of Galilee to the permanently mandated area and of the southern part of the region south of Jaffa to the Arab state. Under the second (Plan C), the Hebrew area would be limited to the coastal region between Zikhron Ya'aqov and Rehovot, while northern Palestine, including the Plain of Esdraelon, and all the semi-arid region of southern Palestine would be placed under separate mandates. To unoccupied areas in the southern mandate, Jews would be admitted provided the land could be made suitable for settlement. Two members of the Commission favored Plan C, one favored Plan B, and one declared flatly that no practicable plan for partition could be devised.

"Turning to details, the commission found that no division could be made which would both include few Arabs in the Jewish state and allow it space for the absorption of numerous immigrants . . . "

The Peel Commission previously had suggested the need of transfers of land and populations in order to reduce the large Arab minority in the Jewish state. This Commission concluded its report by suggesting, in the event partition were not adopted, a "*political high level*" (italics mine) of 12,000 Jewish immigrants annually for 5 years. This "political high level" was to displace the criterion of "economic absorptive capacity," previously adopted.

The Woodhead Commission "announced in effect that no plan of partition could be evolved which would offer much hope of successful application." (Hanna, *supra*, p. 138).

#### PAGES 149-50

"It also promised the creation of such conditions as will permit an Arab (!) state in alliance with Britain to arise after the lapse of ten years provided there was established in the meantime "such relations between the Arabs and the Jews as would make good government possible."— The safety of a Jewish minority in an Arabic-Mufti dominated state

is made clear by what the Grand Mufti said and left unsaid in his testimony before the Royal Peel Commission on January 12, 1937.

"Lord Peel: . . . You want completely to stop Jewish immigration. What do you want to do with the 400,000 Jews here at present?

"Mufti: They will live as they always did live previously in Arab countries, with complete freedom and liberty, as natives of the country . . .

"Lord Peel: But if you felt there was not accommodation here for so many, some of them would have to be removed by a process kindly or painful as the case may be?

"Mufti: *We must leave all these things for the future.*" (Italics mine. Quoted from Main, *supra*, pp. 304-5).

#### PAGES 150-1

For further, very pointed critiques of the British Government policy enunciated in the White Paper of 1939, see Maurice Samuel, *supra*, pp. 283-8.

#### PAGE 162

"Sixty eight new agricultural colonies were established between 1936 and 1940."—Of these settlements, 47 were established on Jewish National Fund land.

#### PAGE 173

Since the outbreak of World War II no World Zionist Congresses have convened by reason of the exigencies of war. The last one held in the summer of 1939 on the very eve of World War II dissolved hurriedly midst sorrowful, premonitory leave-taking.

## PAGE 175

The Histadrut comprises farmers as well as industrial and commercial workers and includes in its ranks workers' wives.

## PAGE 176

(a) "Jews have been plying with alacrity all sorts of occupations barred to them for centuries,"—See notes to p. 109, note (b).

(b) Hadassah, which has been transferring a number of its hospitals and health centers to municipal institutions in Palestine, has also transferred some to the Kupath Holim of Histadrut. Kupat Holim has been largely budgeted by the contributions of employees and employers. The Keren Hayesod has also granted some subventions to it.

## PAGE 177

I quote from Lowdermilk, pp. 91-2:

" . . . The Jewish settlers began to cross Holsteins from Holland and Jerseys from England with the Syrian and Lebanese breeds which are superior to the native Palestinian cow. They managed to develop a strain of milk cow that could survive and prosper under Palestine conditions and yield a satisfactory quantity of milk. The Arab cow gives about 800 quarts of milk a year but the cows in Jewish settlements average 3500 quarts, while some prize specimens among them give more than 5000 quarts yearly. While we were in Palestine, negotiations were completed to export this superior breed of acclimatized cow to India.

" . . . The sales of Tnuvah, the largest marketing co-operative of Jewish farmers, show that in 1924-25, 1,131,672 liters of milk were sold. In 1935-36, the sales reached 18,074,557 liters, and the estimate for 1941-42 is 26,000,000 liters. (f.n.—A liter is 1.06 quarts.) . . .

"The native hen is a very scrawny fowl which lays an

average of 70 small eggs per year. Jewish settlers have introduced the leghorn hen and crossed it with native breeds. The resultant new strain is heavier and lays an average of 150 large eggs per year. This new breed is now found all over Palestine."

## PAGE 178

For further material with reference to the Brandeis group in Palestine, see notes p. 249-50.

## PAGE 180

I quote Lowdermilk, pp. 129-30:

"Co-operative settlement has proved cheaper than individual colonization both in initial costs and in maintenance, and has thus naturally become the preferred method for the absorption of new immigrants, the great majority of whom come to Palestine practically penniless . . . Not only do the great majority remain faithful to their settlements, but the second generation has thus far consistently followed in the footsteps of its parents.

"The co-operative and collective settlements owe their success not only to their economic advantages but also to their members' devotion to their ideas and principles. The pioneers one meets in Palestine have a fanatical belief in their mission as torch-bearers of a Jewish Homeland built on the basis of productive work. Theirs is an ideology which glorifies labor and considers it an essential element in the good life. This belief has enabled the sons and daughters of small shopkeepers to transform themselves into workers willing to do every kind of arduous physical labor required for the up-building of Palestine . . . "

Lowdermilk, further, at p. 127:

"The collective colony is one of the most amazing instances of human co-operation in the world. Unless one has talked and visited with these settlers, it is hard to realize how much they gain by their disregard of personal wealth.



They have no fear of want, no envy of another man's possessions. . . . "

Lowdermilk at p. 115:

"In my opinion, Palestine's most important social achievement in the industrial field is the introduction of industries into the co-operative settlements which were originally intended to be purely agricultural. Collective farms have found it to their economic advantage to establish carpentry or printing shops, trucking services, shoe repair stores or small factories. Having these added sources of employment and income, the farms become less dependent on the vicissitudes of the weather . . . "

#### PAGES 184-8

For industrial development and accomplishments in Palestine, see pp. 107-11, 162-3.

#### PAGE 190

Of the Jewish holidays enumerated on this page, only Pentecost (Shabuoth) is a major religious holiday. Purim and Hamisha Asar bi-Shebat enumerated have never been major religious holidays, but are simply cited to indicate the new content being poured into all Jewish holidays in modern Palestine.

#### PAGE 207

" . . . and Zionism is part of the *cultural pluralism* of the Jew."

I quote "The American Jew: A Composite Portrait," edited by Oscar I. Janowsky, Harper's, 1942, p. 255, from a chapter written by Dr. Janowsky:

"The word 'nationality' is the English equivalent of the French *nationalité* and the German *nationalität*, which connote, not political allegiance, but spiritual and cultural affinity. Since the term 'nationality' has not gained wide currency in the U. S., the word 'people' might perhaps best characterize this conception. The Scotch and Welsh are nationalities

or peoples within the British nation. Their political allegiance is indivisible, but they are conscious of specialized cultural loyalties. Likewise, the American Jews, whose political loyalty is exclusively to the U. S., recognize a religious and cultural relationship with Jews in other parts of the world. The Jewish religion, folkways, literature, art, music and other expressions of a spiritual and cultural nature are unaffected by political frontiers. They are worldwide and universal . . .

" . . . just as the suffering of Irish peasantry in the 19th century disturbed Americans of Irish ancestry, or as the Nazi oppression of Catholics to-day mentally arouses American Catholics, so are American Jews affected by the fortunes of Jewish communities abroad."

PAGE 226 f.n.

"The Churchill War Cabinet has been implementing the White Paper of 1939." — The 75,000 immigration schedule, by reason of the war, was not fully consumed during the five-year period called for. The unused balance has been extended to be operative beyond the expiration period of 1944.

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All Zionists favor the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish Commonwealth. They differ, however, as to whether the Commonwealth should be established forthwith or favorable conditions for the quick realization of a Jewish Commonwealth be placed in the hands of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. That England intends to cling to strategic nodes in Palestine, come what may, is quite clear. Palestine has become of great strategic importance to the Empire.

PAGE 229

My "Selected Bibliography" should also include the following book, which I consulted, particularly in connection with some of my notes:

Main, Ernest. *Palestine at the Crossroads*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. (London), 1937.

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